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# CHANGING MEN:
# THE RATIONALE, THEORY, AND DESIGN OF A MEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING PROGRAM

A Dissertation Presented

by

Steven A. Schapiro

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

MAY 1985

School of Education

Steven A. Schapiro, 1985

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CHANGING MEN:

THE RATIONALE, THEORY, AND DESIGN OF A

MEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING PROGRAM

A Dissertation Presented

by

STEVEN ANDREW SCHAPIRO

Approved as to style and content by:

Bailey W. Jackson, III, Chairperson of Committee

Gerald Weinstein, Member

Ann Ferguson, Member

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To my mother, Evelyn Gershonowitz Schapiro,

who would have been very proud

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ABSTRACT:

Changing Men: The Rationale, Theory and Design of
A Men's Consciousness Raising Program

(May 1985)

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Directed by Associate Professor Bailey W. Jackson, III

This study describes the theory and design of a pedagogy that attempts to help men to develop new ways of being male that are less oppressive to women and more fulfilling to men. The goals of this pedagogy are summarized with the terms: autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism. These goals are based on an integration of three alternative models of masculinity: the "liberated man," the "androgynous man," and the "anti-sexist man."

The need for the study is established through a description of the current societal transition in male role norms, an exploration of the critique of traditional masculinity, and a review of existing approaches for educating men about sex roles and sexism. The study demonstrates that these approaches are inadequate because they have limited objectives and/or do not take into account both key facets of men's identity in regard to this issue: the

limitations imposed on men by traditional sex roles, and men's role in the oppression of women.

A theoretical model for a more adequate pedagogy for "raising men's consciousness" about sexism is developed through a review, critique, and synthesis of four relevant educational approaches: human relations training groups (T-groups), Paolo Freire's education for critical consciousness, feminist consciousness raising groups, and anti-oppression education. The implications of a developmental perspective on men's identity for how the pedagogy should be implemented are then explored through a review of several theories of sex role identity development and male identity development, leading to the articulation of a more differentiated model that can explain developmental patterns experienced by men.

A college course, "Men and Masculinity," which was designed on the basis of the pedagogical model, is described in detail. An informal evaluation of the course's effectiveness in meeting its objectives is reported. Based on an analysis of students' written materials and of pre and post scores on the Personal Attributes Questionnaire, the Women's Liberation Scale, and a questionnaire on "Men and Sexism," there were significant increases in androgyny and activism, with smaller but still significant increases in androgyny and activism.

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# INTRODUCTION

## Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this study is to develop, implement, and evaluate a pedagogical model for men's consciousness raising. This model will be based on: (1) A clear set of goals and objectives for a new kind of masculinity that would be free from what have been described as the problems and harmful effects of traditional masculinity; (2) An understanding of a change process or processes men may go through in changing from traditional to new kinds of men; and (3) An understanding of what other relevant consciousness raising approaches have to offer for helping men to go through such changes. The model will be implemented in an undergraduate course, and an informal evaluation will be conducted to assess the effectiveness of the course in meeting its objectives.

## Need for the Study

This study is needed because: (a) Masculinity is in transition: our society's definition of what it means or should mean to be a man is changing; and (b) Existing

approaches for educating and counseling men in transition and for helping men to begin changing are either inadequate in terms of the changes they attempt to facilitate or inappropriate for working with men because they are not based on a full understanding of men's identity and consciousness in regard to this issue.

## Context of the Study

"Men are in difficult times: masculinity today and tomorrow."

"Being a man: the paradox of masculinity."

"A man's place: masculinity in transition."

"A choice of heroes: the changing face of American manhood."

The phrases quoted above, all titles of books that have been published within just the last four years, concern themselves with the social phenomenon to which this paper is addressed. That phenomenon is an apparent transition in masculinity; a transition, that is, in our society's definitions of what it means or should mean to be a man. As shall be fully illustrated in the body of this paper, various social and economic changes appear to be making the traditional images and models of masculinity inappropriate and dysfunctional in our post-industrial society. Those

images have also been questioned and criticized as oppressive to women and limiting to men by those involved in a succession of social protest and liberation movements of the last two decades, including, among others, the anti-war movement, the women's movement, and, finally, the men's movement. At the same time, many psychologists and sociologists have undertaken a critical re-examination of our society's sex role stereotypes and their effects on women and men.

This gradual erosion of institutional support for traditional masculinity, along with this critical re-appraisal of how men should behave, has apparently left many men trapped in what has been called the "paradox" (Bell, 1982) and the "dilemma" (Kamorovsky, 1971) of masculinity. Many men are "caught," in historian Daniel Bell's words, "between their upbringing and contemporary expectations," (Bell, 1982, p. 151) still feeling a need and being encouraged by some to prove themselves in the old ways, and being called upon more and more, both at work and in their relationships with women, to be more expressive and sensitive, less dominant and aggressive (Pleck, 1981; Bell, 1982). Caught in this dilemma, many men "are left with the insecurity of not knowing how to evaluate themselves and their actions," (Vittitow, 1981, p. 292). They are no longer sure of what a "real man" or a "successful man" is supposed to be like (Gittelson, 1978).

Many men have responded to that insecurity by trying to reaffirm the old stereotypes (Fersten, 1982; Berman, 1982), by trying to re-assert and re-establish the traditional male role (see, for example, Gilder, 1975; Goldberg, 1975) and by developing new ways of asserting their dominance over women (Betzold, 1977; Stoltenberg, 1979). But many other men have instead been struggling to redefine masculinity and themselves, and have been searching for new ways of being masculine that are less oppressive to women and more fulfilling for them. The spirit of that struggle is echoed in these words of Mark Gerzon, author of the recent A Choice of Heroes: Changing Faces of American Manhood (1982):

> Forced to change, yet uncertain of our direction, we must break new trails. Old landmarks have been eroded. Signposts have been effaced. Yet a crisis in masculinity is also an opportunity. It compels us to find new maps of the world we live in. It encourages us to find wise travelling companions. It inspires us to try to read the compass of our hearts. (p. 234)

## Significance of the Study

For those who want to make the most of the opportunity of this crisis, those who want to redefine their masculinity and themselves as men, and those who want to help other men

to do so, there are, from my perspective as an educator, three needs that present themselves. These needs are:

1) a clear set of goals and objectives for a new kind of masculinity that would overcome the problems and harmful effects of the old masculinity;
2) an understanding of a change process or processes men may go through in changing from the old to the new kind of man; and
3) a pedagogy--the principles and strategies of an educational approach aimed at helping men to go through these changes.

These needs are all addressed in this study. The pedagogical model developed is intended to help those engaged in such consciousness raising work to identify appropriate educational interventions for men with a variety of needs and characteristics. The more informed such work is by (1) an understanding of the process through which men change; and (2) an understanding of which educational strategies can help to facilitate the desired changes, the more effective such work can be.

## Design of the Study

Following this introduction, Chapter Two describes the social context of the study and the problem to which it is addressed--the limitations imposed on men by traditional sex roles, men's role in the oppression of women, and the transition in accepted definitions of what it means or should mean "to be a man." In Chapter Three, two bodies of literature addressing the transition in masculinity are reviewed: the literature proposing alternative conceptions of masculinity, and literature describing existing approaches for educating men about sex roles and sexism. These reviews lead in turn to the articulation of an integrated definition of a new kind of masculinity, and to the establishment of the need for a more adequate and thorough pedagogy for men's consciousness raising, the need to which this study is addressed.

Chapter Four is devoted to the development of a theoretical model for men's consciousness raising. That model is developed in two steps. First, a general set of pedagogical principles for men's consciousness raising are developed through a review, critique, and synthesis of existing consciousness raising and educational approaches relevant to the pedagogy's objectives. Those approaches are T-groups, Freire's education for critical consciousness,

feminist consciousness raising groups, and anti-oppression education. Second, the implications for the pedagogy of a developmental process-oriented perspective on men's identity development are explored. In so doing, several theories of sex role and male identity development are reviewed, critiqued, and integrated.

Chapter Five presents a detailed description of a specific consciousness raising program for men, based on the pedagogical theory developed in Chapter Four. The program described is an undergraduate college course entitled "Men and Masculinity." Also, in Chapter Five, the procedure and findings of an informal evaluation of the course's effectiveness are reported. Finally, in Chapter Six, these findings are interpreted and their implications discussed as to the strengths and weaknesses of the pedagogy developed. Other issues raised by the study in regard to men's consciousness raising and men's identity development are also identified and discussed.

# CHAPTER II

## SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: MASCULINITY IN TRANSITION

### Masculinity Defined

"Masculine," according to Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1971, p. 519), means "having the characteristics of a man; manly; virile; strong, bold." "Manly," according to the same source (Webster's 1971, p. 515) means "having the qualities usually considered desirable in a man; strong; brave; honorable; resolute; virile." These two definitions together demonstrate how in defining what it means to be a man, our cultural descriptions go from the is--what is typical or "characteristic" of most men at a given time and place (sex role stereotype), to the ought--what is "desirable" for most men (sex role norm). Men who do not fit these stereotyped images and norms are therefore considered less masculine or less of a man.

As social critics and academicians have, during the last few decades, explored the meaning of feminity and masculinity, they have developed the concept of the "sex role" or "gender role," a concept that is both descriptive and prescriptive, to describe these stereotypes that have become norms (Pleck, J., 1981; Tresemer, 1975). The concept of sex role defines masculinity from both a psychological and sociological perspective, referring both to personal

characteristics (i.e., aggressive, achievement oriented, emotionally repressed) and to social roles and responsibilities (i.e., breadwinner, husband, father) (Pleck, J., 1976, 1982). What the concept of sex role does not include are attitudes and beliefs, nor any analysis of masculinity from a political or socio-economic perspective. The implications of these limitations of the sex role perspective in defining masculinity will be discussed in a later section, but since it is in these terms that masculinity is discussed and defined in the social sciences literature, it is from this perspective that this exploration of masculinity will begin.

The psychologists, sociologists, and social critics who have been studying the male role have described its essential characteristics in a variety of ways. In regard to personal traits and characteristics, the ideal successful man has the qualities of the successful worker (Tolson, 1979), qualities described by Vittitow (1981) as "cool, controlled, durable, firm, functional, reliable, productive" (p. 291). He is "the male machine" (Fasteau, 1974, p. 11), never vulnerable, weak, sensitive, ambivalent, emotionally expressive, or dependent. He is tough, strong, self-confident, decisive, and aggressive (Farrell, 1974; Vittitow, 1981), dedicated to the all-important goals of "getting ahead" and "staying cool" (Sawyer, 1974). These

summary descriptions are supported by the research that has been done, such as one study based on over 1,000 interviews which found that men are expected to be very aggressive, not at all emotional, very dominant, not hesitant, very competitive, rough, and unaware of other's feelings (Broverman et al., 1972). In terms that relate more to social roles, those who fit the "great American male stereotype" are described by another study as "successful in business, financially productive, physically productive, and knowledgeable" (Canavan, O., and Haskell, J., 1977, p. 150). They are breadwinners, husbands, and fathers (Pleck, J., 1981, p. 10).

In probably the most inclusive and incisive characterization of what they call our "cultural blueprint for manhood," psychologist R. Brannon and sociologist D. David (1976) identify four areas or factors that summarize the various descriptions of the role:

1) No Sissy Stuff: the stigma of anything even vaguely feminine.
2) The Big Wheel: success, status, and the need to be looked up to.
3) Sturdy Oak: a manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance.
4) Give-'em-Hell: the aura of aggression, violence, and daring.

These "blueprints" and role descriptions are not intended to describe what all American men are like, but to outline the ideal male images against which men have traditionally been measured. Probably no man could possibly fill all of the requirements, and many appear to vary from them widely.

Indeed, while these four factors outlined by Brannon and David sum up the various aspects of the role, one needn't score high in all of them in order to be considered a "real man" (Pleck, 1981). The specific requirements for success appear to vary with socio-economic class, ethnicity, race, age, and other more idiosyncratic factors, as well as with changing historical and economic conditions (Dubbert, 1979; Pleck, 1981; Staples, 1981; Moreland, 1980; Cazenave, 1984). Farrell (1974), for instance, differentiates between the "physically striving man" and the "job striving man" (p. 38), who attempt to validate their masculinity in alternative ways.

Pleck (1976, 1981), in differentiating between the traditional and modern ideals of masculinity, makes a parallel distinction. In what he calls the "traditional" male role, more characteristic today of working-class culture, masculinity is validated ultimately by individual physical strength and aggression. In what he labels as the "modern" male role, which is more characteristic of middle-class men and "increasingly represents the expectations against which

males evaluate themselves," masculinity is validated instead by "economic achievement and organizational or bureaucratic power" (Pleck, 1981, p. 140). Interpersonal skills and intelligence are esteemed insofar as they lead to these goals. In both the traditional and modern versions, however, says Pleck, men are driven by a need to prove their masculinity, which is validated in terms of what they can do and accomplish, not in terms of what they are internally or how they relate to people.

## Masculinity in Transition: Historic and Economic Factors

Historian Joe Dubbert, in his book, A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition (1979), traces the evolution of the masculine ideal and American male identity from 1830 to the present. In so doing, he describes a shift similar to that outlined by Pleck. In his terms it is a shift from the individual self-reliant frontiersman of the 19th Century, to the organization man of the 1950s, and on in the 1960s to the variant male identities of jock, playboy, wheeler-dealer, and workoholic (p. 280), in which men try to validate the old definition of masculinity in new ways. Dubbert argues that the masculine ideal, which was based on the open space of the American frontier and the virtues appropriate to it, virtues such as physical strength, self-reliance, dominance, and activity, has been in crisis since

1900. Since then, men have had fewer and fewer opportunities to validate their masculinity in the traditional ways, and have had to find alternative ways of doing so, and/or alternative ideals to aspire to.

In this crisis of "living in place" in a world which values less and less the old style of being a man, a world in which physical strength is no longer needed in the workplace or even in war, Dubbert finds the potential for a "paradigmatic shift" in "sex-identity behavior patterns." As the limits in physical space bring on "greater sensitivity to the quality of one's inner life" (p. 304), men can begin to transcend the narrow limits of traditional male identity and begin to define themselves not just in the external terms of what they do, but in the more internal terms of what they are as people.

Donald Bell, in his article, "Up From Patriarchy: The Male Role in Historical Perspective" (1981), argues from a similar perspective that current developments in the "social and economic environment" (p. 319) have made the traditional male role an anachronism, a vestige of an earlier era. Tracing the development of the male role through the pre-industrial, industrial, and current post-industrial eras, he finds that strictly segregated sex roles originated with the needs of an industrial economy that required men to work outside of the home. He describes all three eras as patriarchal, but with differing definitions of appropriate sex

roles, roles that have been "conditioned by alternatives in the social and economic structure" (p. 319). The current shift from an industrial to a "serice-oriented" economy that requires skilled and knowledgeable managers and technicians, argues Bell, has eliminated the basic economic rationale for strictly divided roles, creating our current "time of transition" which "raises the possibility of social roles less segregated along sexual lines and which demand a higher degree of sharing between men and women" (p. 319).

Attitudes supporting male dominance he sees as historical lags which have not caught up with the new level of economic and social development. The male role will continue to change, he asserts, for the means of real change lie in societal and economic changes that have already come about. One attitude or value that he believes is already changing and is contributing to a trend toward redefining sex roles is an increased concern with personal development and individual achievement, a value that is leading women to look for more fulfillment through work, and men more fulfillment through their emotional life.

Dubbert and Bell thus both find in the changing needs of the workplace the material basis for a change in gender roles. Other recent literature (Hartman, 1978, 1981; Sargent, 1981; Rowbotham, 1973; Ferguson and Folbre, 1981), written from a Marxist and socialist-feminist perspective, goes further than the work of these two social historians

in analyzing the economic functions of traditional roles and the continually changing "partnership" between patriarchy and capitalism, and arrives at some different conclusions as to the economic factors underlying the current period of sex role redefinition and the extent to which economic changes that could provide a basis for a full change in the male role have already occurred.

In describing the "partnership between patriarchy and capitalism," Hartman (1981), for instance, argues that the current sex role division is based on a continual accommodation between men's self-interest in having women serve them in the home and capitalists' interest in using women's labor power in the wage labor market. The division of labor which arose with the industrial economy in the 19th Century, with men working outside of the home and women within, was, explains Hartman, neither inevitable nor economically necessary. At the beginning of industrialization, men, women, and children all worked outside of the home in order to earn enough money, given the low wages being paid, to support a family. It was, Hartman demonstrates, male protest and organized resistance, not simply economic rationality, which led to the development of the "family wage," the idea that men would be paid enough to support a family, and women would be relegated to low-paying jobs or to working solely in the home, making them economically dependent on men.

In the early 20th Century, argues Hartman (1981) and others (Rowbotham, 1973; Zaretsky, 1973; Ferguson and Folbre, 1981), this "family wage" system served capitalism well, as women performed the necessary functions of what Ferguson and Folbre call the "sex-affective realm of production: child-rearing, and fulfillment of human needs for affection, nurturing, and sexual expression." Women thus supported the system by reproducing the labor force, doing unpaid labor in the home, and giving men a place where they could be emotionally nurtured and exercise their privilege and male dominance.

While the principle of the family wage was never totally a reality for everyone in the society, it did seem to work well for quite a while in supporting the traditional sexual division of labor. As the 20th Century has continued on, however, more and more women have been drawn into the wage labor market (i.e., in 1977, 48% of women worked outside of the home, as compared to 20.6% in 1900) (Ferguson and Folbre, 1981, p. 325), probably as a result of at least two factors: (1) the average number of children per family declined drastically (from seven in 1980 to less than two today) (Ferguson and Folbre, p. 325), meaning women have had to spend less time in full-time motherhood, freeing them up to enter the paid workforce; and (2) capitalism's growing need for women's labor in the growing but low-paying clerical and

service-oriented sectors of the economy (Ehrenreich, 1983; Hartman, 1979).

Probably partly as a cause and partly as a result of this entry of so many women into the wage labor market, the reality of the family wage has almost vanished. With the average male wage no longer enough to support a family, the two-paycheck family has become a necessity (Ehrenreich, 1983). Corporations have apparently decided that paying men a family wage is no longer a good investment. Thus, the economic basis for rigid traditional sex roles, with men at work and women at home, has been disappearing, although job segregation by sex within the workforce still limits most women to low-paying jobs and to economic dependence on men or on the state (Hartman, 1981; Brown, 1981). The question still remains, however, as to what effect the decline of the family wage is having on the male role and the masculine ideal, particularly in regard to men's role within the family.

As mentioned above, Dubbert and Bell describe changes in the masculine ideal based on the changing needs of the workplace and the fact that it is less and less possible for men to "prove their masculinity," as it has traditionally been defined, through their work. The ideal male role in relation to the family may be undergoing a similar metamorphosis. As the decline of the family wage is making

men's traditional role as the sole family breadwinner less and less of a possibility, new ideals for men in relation to the family have been emerging. In her recent book, The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment (1983), Barbara Ehrenreich describes one such change in what she calls the male revolt--"the collapse of the breadwinner ethic among American men." The ideal of the solid family man supporting a wife and children is being replaced, she says, by the ideal of the "liberated" man who is free from the dependency of others and able to pursue his own growth and fulfillment.

For those men who are committed to families and children, there appear to be more and more expectations that men share more of the childcare and household duties. With more and more women working outside of the home, and, perhaps as a result, with more and more women demanding equality within the home, there has been more and more pressure, both out of necessity and out of ideology, for the sexual division of labor within the home to become more equalized. However, since job segregation by sex still relegates many women to less secure, lower-paying jobs, and since as a result women women's earning power is still only 57% that of men, many women are still economically dependent on men and many families must rely on men's wage-earning power. Unless women achieve economic equity and economic independence, it will

be very difficult for many men and women, particularly those with young children, to dramatically alter the traditional division of labor within the home and still maintain an adequate standard of living. Whether or not our current economic system could absorb such changes is a question that many feminists and economists are asking. There are those who conclude that such gender equity would not be possible without broad structural changes leading to a more generally equitable and democratically controlled economic system; in short, to some form of democratic socialism.

To conclude, with the needs of the workplace changing, with the decline of the family wage, and with the entry of many women into the labor market, the economic rationale for many aspects of traditional masculinity has been eroding, contributing to the current transition in masculinity that we are now experiencing. The result and future direction of that transition may depend on whatever social and economic changes continue to evolve.

## Historical Context: The Social Movements of the '60s, '70s, and '80s

It is clear in these historical and economic perspectives that definitions of the male role are evolving from traditional to modern to something else beyond. From their

point of view, changing social and economic conditions, along with greater emphasis on the inner life and on individual fulfillment, are making the traditional male role more and more obsolete and contributing to its re-evaluation. Along with these changing economic conditions and changing values that are eroding traditional masculinity, there have, during the last 20 years, been other developments and social movements calling into question what it means and what it should mean to be a man. As a result of those movements, "the mystique of the white American male, always dominant, always winning, always in control, began to disintegrate" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 280).

One such movement challenging that mystique grew out of the trauma of the Viet Nam War experience. During the '60s and early '70s, opposition to the War in Viet Nam appeared to lead many people to question the whole value system of the white male establishment that got us involved there, and the "cult of masculine toughness" that seemed to prevent us from leaving (Fasteau, 1974; Dubbert, 1979; Stone, 1974). A "counter-culture" arose, largely among the white middle class, in opposition to the entire lifestyle and value system of the mainstream. Among men, it was the "real men," the "short hairs," the "macho" types who seemed to support the War most strongly, while it was the more feminized "long hairs," the "flower children," the pacifists, who opposed the War and all it represented.

In the '50s and early '60s, prior to the start of the peace movement, the civil rights movement had developed, demanding an end to racial segregation and discrimination. This movement, together with the later opposition to the War, seemed to have a ripple effect, as more and more people began to question the status quo, and other social groups began to push for liberation from traditional constraints (Cluster, 1978; Pleck and Pleck, 1980). Three such movements in particular--the women's movement, the gay movement, and, finally, the men's movement--have led many men to re-examine the accepted definitions of manhood (Pleck and Pleck, 1980).

The modern feminist movement began in the mid 1960s. While a group of mostly middle-class professional women formed The National Organization for Women (NOW) and began to struggle for equal opportunity and equal rights, at the same time, younger, mostly college-educated women in the New Left began to confront the secondary role they were forced to play in the civil rights and anti-war movements (Hole & Levine, 1971; Pleck and Pleck, 1980). As these changing women began to seek equality, to redefine their social roles, and to challenge the accepted definitions of feminity, men, particularly those involved with women who were changing, experienced a strain in their accepted roles and pressure to change in complementary ways. Changing men

began to look for new and more egalitarian forms of male-female relationships.

The emergence of the gay movement in 1969 and its growth during the 1970s helped to focus attention on the emptiness and lack of meaning in relationships between men and on the constraints of the male role itself, beyond any connection to men's relationships with women (Pleck and Pleck, 1980).

## The Men's Movement

As more and more men began to re-examine our concept of masculinity and to break through the confines of the male role, the men's movement was created. It started with the formation in the early 1970s of men's consciousness raising groups (Farrell, 1974; Gittelson, 1978; Pleck and Pleck, 1980), modelled after those of women. In the belief, borrowed from feminism, that "the personal is political," men in these groups sought to identify sexual-political issues through an examination of their lives, and to become more aware of how their socialization as men affected them and others.

The first public manifestation of this movement came in 1970 with the formation of the Berkeley Men's Center by men who "want to take back our full humanity" (Berkeley

Center Manifesto, 1970, in Pleck and Sawyer, 1974, p. 173). In the same year, an article called "Men's Liberation" appeared in Liberation magazine, followed in the next year by another article, entitled "A Quiet March for Liberation Begins" (Katz, 1971). Meanwhile, men's centers, magazines, and newsletters began to appear all over the country. In 1970, Brother: A Forum for Men Against Sexism was published in Berkeley, followed in no particular order by Male Bag from Detroit, Men Talk from Minneapolis, Men Sharing from Boston, Changing Men from Portland (Gittelson, 1978, p. 29), and, more recently, M: Gentle Men for Gender Justice, which calls itself the national forum of the men's movement (M, 1981). Meanwhile, since 1974, conferences on men and masculinity, with names such as "men supporting men," "straight white men," "exploring the male mystique," "reweaving masculinity," and "men cooperating for a change," have been held in all parts of the country (Gittelson, 1978, p. 29). At a conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1983, the National Organization for Changing Men was formally created. While these conferences, journals, and men's groups have involved relatively few people, the concerns of these men have reached the mainstream through the media and through the many books and articles on the issue that have been published in the academic and popular presses.

The growing movement and its changing focus are reflected in the books on men and masculinity that have been published during the last decade and a half. In 1971, a New Jersey men's group put out a book called Unbecoming Men. In 1974, four books critically re-examining the constraints and limits of the male role were published: The Liberated Man by Warren Farrell, Men's Liberation by Jack Nichols, The Male Machine by Marc Feigen-Fasteau, and Men and Masculinity, edited by Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer; followed in 1976 by The 49% Majority: The Male Sex Role, edited by D. David and R. Brannon, and The Hazards of Being Male: Surviving the Myth of Male Privilege by Herb Goldberg. In the following five years, three historical studies of the male role appeared, including those by Pleck and Pleck (1980), Dubbert (1979), and Kirschner (1977). Beginning in 1976 with Mirra Komarovsky's Dilemmas of Masculinity: A Study of College Youth, books began to appear reflecting the transition in masculinity and men's search for new ways of being male. For example, in 1979, Goldberg's The New Male and Tolson's Limits of Masculinity appeared, followed in the last three years by Pleck's Myth of Masculinity (1981), Bell's Being a Man: The Paradox of Masculinity (1982), and Gerzon's A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Manhood (1982). These works seem to reflect the erosion of traditional masculinity and the confusion many men now feel as they try to live in a

world in which the expectations and pressures about what they should be like are more and more at odds with how they were originally socialized to be.

This confusion and ambiguity about what men should be like is reflected in a lack of clear direction and consensus in the men's movement itself. While, as explained above, the original focus of that movement seemed to be on working toward more egalitarian relationships with women and on re-examining the male socialization process, more and more attention has come to be focused on men's relationship with each other and on the limits that the male role places on men's own personal growth and development. Presently, the men's movement seems to be split into two factions, or, more accurately, to be arranged along a continuum between two poles, with the "free men" on one pole, and the "anti-sexist" men on the other (Interrante, 1981). While men all along the continuum seem to share the same analysis of the costs of masculinity to men, they differ on the analysis of and support for women's issues. The "free men," who have formed an organization by that name (Interrante, 1981), focus on helping men to liberate themselves from the confines of the male role in order to facilitate their own personal growth and fulfillment. The "anti-sexist" men see the problem not only in terms of the limits of sex roles on men and women, but also in terms of male privilege and dominance as a social, political, and

economic issue (Snodgrass, 1976, 1977, 1979; Stoltenberg, 1974, 1977; Glazer, 1977). They focus on working for social as well as personal change and on working against women's oppression more than for men's liberation.

A full analysis of these varying points of view, and a full history and analysis of the men's movement, are beyond the scope of this paper. What has been intended is to document that there exists among men a movement aimed at exploring and redefining masculinity and changing the male role. That movement is both a symptom and a contributing cause of the transition in masculinity that currently seems to be taking place; a transition apparently brought on by the historical and economic factors described by Dubbert, Bell, and others, and by the challenges to traditional masculinity brought by the social protest movements of the '60s, by the women's and gay movements of the '70s, and by that men's movement itself.

## The Anti-Feminist Response

Before moving on to examine the criticisms of the male role and the alternative conceptions of masculinity that have been proposed by various psychologists, sociologists, and movement activists, it is important to make clear that the "men's movement" described above is by no

means the only way or the predominant way in which men have been responding to the erosion of traditional masculinity and to the challenges of the feminist movement.

The vast majority of men have not, of course, described their responses in writing or joined popular movements to express their points of view. Their responses, whether ambivalent, supportive, or antagonistic, are in that sense largely personal and private. Some, however, have responded more actively by calling upon men to reassert their natural dominance and restore their traditional social roles. Attacks on affirmative action, the recent defeat of the equal rights amendment, along with the moral majority and its defense of the "traditional" family, all reflect such a response.

This anti-feminist perspective, while almost entirely missing from the social science literature on sex role issues, has been articulated in such books as Steven Goldberg's The Inevitability of Patriarchy (1973), George Gilder's Sexual Suicide (1975), Leonard Kriegel's Of Men and Manhood (1977), Phyllis Schlafly's The Power of the Positive Woman (1978), Natalie Gittelson's Dominus: A Woman Looks at Men's Lives (1978), and F. Rose's and G. Bennett's Real Men: Sex and Style in an Uncertain Age (1980). These authors base their defense of the traditional roles on assertions about biological necessity and the natural differences between the sexes.

Goldberg, for instance, explains what he calls the "inevitability of patriarchy" by citing biological and anthropological evidence that it is hormonal influences that make men naturally aggressive that have resulted in the predominance of males in leadership and prestige positions in every society. He concludes that sex role differences must survive if culture and progress are to continue.

Gilder warns us from a similar perspective that following the lead of the sex role liberationists will result in "sexual suicide": "The liberationists have no idea where their program would take us. . . . They are promoting an epidemic of erotic and social disorder." (p. 7) He supports the notion that women must tame and civilize men, and argues for the crucial role of the traditional nuclear family in guaranteeing progress as it leads men to work at being providers and protectors.

Gittelson, a woman writing "about men's lives," also expresses concern about the erotic domain, warning that the decline of male dominance has been ruining love and sex: "The world without dominus [man the master] was also a world without love . . . and no one had explained how Eros could survive in the absence of the very force that gave it life." (p. 51)

Research in the growing field of socio-biology and mounting evidence about physiological differences between

the sexes and possible hormonal influences on brain functions, all recently summarized in Newsweek magazine (May 18, 1981), have been used by other anti-feminists (see, for example, Zepezauer, 1981; Levin, 1980) in support of their arguments for a biological basis to sex role differentiation and their challenge to the feminist point of view. "If there are biologically based differences between the sexes," concludes Levin (p. 25), "the rest of contemporary feminism falls apart . . . it is senseless to try to make the sexes conform to an 'androgynous' ideal if they cannot conform to it."

## Perspectives on Masculinity and the Male Role

The debate between those defending traditional sex roles and those critiquing them can indeed, as Levin implies above, be reduced in some respects to a disagreement over the pre-eminence of biological versus social-cultural causes as the major determinants of sex role differentiation. If sex roles are biologically determined, then they are ideally suited to men's and women's natural inclinations. If those roles, as the critics claim, are largely socially determined and have varied throughout history, then those roles may be at odds with people's inner needs and may continue to change and evolve.

Joseph Pleck, in his Myth of Masculinity (1981), relates these variant points of view to two alternative paradigms upon which social scientists have based their sex role research. These paradigms are the MSRI, or Male Sex Role Identity paradigm, which until recently dominated such research; and the emerging SRS, or Sex Role Strain paradigm.

"The distinctive feature of the MSRI paradigm," in Pleck's words, "is its view that sex roles develop from within, rather than being arbitrarily assigned from without." (p. 4) From this point of view, sex roles are conceptualized in terms of adherence to psychological dimensions of masculinity and femininity, and achievement of an appropriate sex role identity is seen as necessary for good psychological adjustment. This "theory of male sex role identity," developed during the 1930s, '40s, and '50s, replaced, says Pleck, the eroding institutional foundation for traditional sex roles "with an inner psychological one; traditional roles, even if no longer required by social convention or law, came to be widely perceived as necessary for normal psychological development." (p. 160) This paradigm stresses the psychological need for a sex-typed identity, and not the specific content of that identity as determined by biological and genetic factors, but in supporting the notion that men have an inner need--in this

case, psychological, to be "real men" as defined by cultural norms, the MSRI paradigm certainly supports and is supported by the notion that men have an inner biological need to be that same kind of man. Consequently, from the perspective of both the MSRI and the biological causation points of view, the solution to the historical and social changes that are making it more difficult for men to validate their sex role identities is not to change those roles, but to restore "men's traditional social roles with women, in the family, and at the job." (Pleck, 1981, p. 27)

The SRS, or Sex Role Strain, paradigm, on the other hand, which is reflected in most recent sex role research and in the feminist critique, does not see "traditional sex roles as desirable or their internalization . . . as the goal of psychological development," but instead "views these roles as limiting and constricting." (p. 8) From this perspective, sex roles are defined by sex role stereotypes and norms. In trying to fill these role demands, people, according to this paradigm, experience strain from three related sources: (1) from characteristics of the roles that are psychologically dysfunctional; (2) from demands of the roles that are inherently contradictory; and (3) from historical changes that can make the roles less functional. From this point of view, the way to get rid of that strain would appear to be to change the roles to

create a better fit with people's needs and with social and historical conditions, or to abandon gender-based roles altogether and allow people to develop and live more in accord with their natural inclinations.

The MSRI and SRS paradigms thus represent, along with the debate over biological versus social causation of sex role differences, clearly differentiated perspectives on sex roles and the "transition in masculinity" described above. This version of the nature/nurture debate will probably never be finally settled one way or the other, and it is not my intention here to analyze fully which perspective can be better substantiated, but since the male role studies and critiques under discussion in this study were written from the SRS perspective, it is important to point out that the SRS paradigm arose because of problems people were experiencing in living up to and living in the traditional roles, problems which the MSRI and biological causation perspectives could not adequately account for (Pleck, 1981). Some of the questions those perspectives cannot answer include: If sex roles are biologically determined, then how, for instance, is one to account for the wide historical and cross-cultural variance (see Dubbert, 1979; Bell, 1982) in the forms that those roles have taken? If this biological necessity is so strong, then how could people violate the roles at all, and why would sex roles now

be changing as much as they are? Finally, if biological factors are so crucial in differentiating roles, then how does one account for the fact that the range of difference in various physical and emotional qualities among people of the same gender is often greater than the average difference between the genders (Newsweek, May 18, 1981)?

While it is probably impossible to determine how much of sex-differentiated behavior is biologically and genetically determined, it seems safe to say, given the historical and cross-cultural variation in these roles, that social and cultural factors have a great deal to do with expectations of appropriate sex role behavior. While the biological factors, to whatever extent they exist, cannot be controlled, the social-cultural factors potentially can be. It is on the social-cultural factors that the studies and critiques of the male role under discussion in this paper have focused their attention, it is from the SRS perspective that those studies were approached, and it is from that perspective that this paper is written.

Having clarified the assumptions underlying that SRS perspective, having acknowledged and summarized the alternative perspective represented by those adhering to the MSRI paradigm, and having pointed out some of the limitations in the biological causation point of view, it is now time to explore in more depth what the various critics of our current concepts of masculinity are saying is wrong

with it--in what ways it is seen as harmful to women, to men, and to society in general. After examining that critique, we will then be prepared to explore the various perspectives on what the new male should be like.

## The Critique of Traditional Masculinity

Until the recent re-emergence of feminism in the 1960s, traditional male sex role norms were not generally considered to be a problem, but rather, as pointed out above in reference to Pleck's analysis of the MSRI paradigm, the successful fulfillment of these roles was taken as a sign of psychological health and maturity. The feminist critics of our patriarchal society have argued, however, that these roles and the system they support are oppressive to women and connected to other forms of oppression as well. As attention focused on the male role itself, critics began to explore how filling these roles is dehumanizing and limiting to men themselves, and how the roles support and are supported by a hierarchical exploitative socio-economic system that leads to the oppression of men and women in this country and around the world. The critical evaluation of traditional masculinity has gone so far as to lead one critic to conclude that the male role has "shaped and molded the social structure and social world we live in more deeply and extensively than

any other single influence." (Brannon and David, 1976, p. 1) The harm caused by that role is so extensive, concludes another critic, that "the wounded list includes virtually everyone who has ever lived in our male dominated society." (Degolia, 1973, p. 112)

In what follows, the wounds allegedly suffered by women and society in general will be summarized. (The term "traditional masculinity" is used to refer to the dominant forms of the male role, as summarized on pages 9-11. It is not meant to refer to Pleck's differentiation [p. 11] between traditional and modern forms of male dominance.)

## The Harm to Women

It is beyond the scope of this paper to fully explore the feminist critique of male dominance and of masculinity as it has been defined in this culture. That critique is well documented in the literature of the feminist movement (see, for example, Morgan, 1970; Tanner, 1970). The purpose of this inquiry will be served, however, by briefly summarizing some of the key points of that critique and discussing how our cultures's dominant definitions of masculinity and femininity support sexism and the oppression of women. By sexism, I mean, very simply, the oppression of women by men; oppression that is supported by cultural

norms, institutional practices, and individual behaviors. It is impossible to separate the cultural norms that define what men are supposed to be like from the cultural and institutional web of sexism that that definition supports and is supported by. Therefore, any assessment of traditional masculinity's harm to women must include all manifestations of oppression that women suffer as a result of our patriarchal society's various forms of male privilege and domination.

The clearest manifestation of that oppression is women's relative powerlessness. Their exclusion from economic and political power is documented in the following facts and figures: In 1980, full-time women workers earned only 58.5% of that earned by men, despite the fact that women had the same level of education. While making up 51% of the population, women constituted only 4% of federal employees in the highest grades, 2% of business executives, 1% of federal judges, 1% of U.S. Senators, 5% of Congresspeople, 2.9% of engineers, 7% of lawyers, 10.7% of physicians, while, on the other hand, comprising 92.9% of bank tellers, 97.6% of clerical workers, 81.7% of librarians, 97.4% of registered nurses, and 99.2% of secretaries (from U.S. Statistical Abstracts, 1980). In general, then, women serve and men rule.

Such economic and political manifestations of sexism are supported and made possible by our culture's dominant

set of beliefs, attitudes, and norms about men and women that serve, in Snodgrass's (1977) words, to "divide males and females into dominant and subordinate castes on the bases of gender." (p. 12) Or, as Stoltenberg (1974) puts it: "The cultural norms of male identity consist in power, prestige, privilege, and prerogatives as over and against the gender class women." (p. 75) Male socialization--the lessons one learns about what it means to be a man--therefore involves training for male supremacy and preparation for domination, while female socialization involves training and preparation for a life of subordination. A look at the qualities assigned to men and women by our culture's definitions of masculinity and femininity will make this point clearer. The masculine qualities mentioned below are taken from Brannon's and David's four-factor summary of the male role, described above on page 10.

With human personality polarized into masculine and feminine dimensions, both men and women (in terms of these definitions) lose out on half of their human potential. If men are defined, as they are according to Brannon and David, as that which women aren't--"no sissy stuff--the avoidance of anything even vaguely feminine"--then the reverse is true as well: women are defined as that which men are not. If men are to be dominant, active, strong, rational, and intelligent, then women must be subordinate,

passive, weak, irrational, and dumb. If men are to be tough, confident, self-reliant, aggressive, violent, and daring, then women must be tender, lacking in confidence, reliant on others, non-violent, and hesitant. If men need to be "the big wheel," to be looked up to, then they need someone to look down on. If men need to be successful, to be competent, to always be right, then women must be less competent, less often right, and must look up to the men around them. While these masculine qualities thus prepare men for power and domination, the feminine qualities prepare women for powerlessness and subordination, defining them "only in terms of [their] child-bearing properties and [their] status as companions to men who make, and do, and rule on earth." (Gornick and Moran, 1971, p. xii)

Furthermore, as "feminine" qualities are avoided by men and considered inferior, what is masculine comes to be considered as that which is normal and superior, including, for example, male values such as power, competition, and achievement; logical and rational male ways of thinking; and even male patterns of personality and emotional coping. In the widely reported Broverman studies (Broverman et al., 1970), for instance, qualities considered by psychologists to describe the healthy adult were those of the healthy male, while qualities considered pathological in the male were considered normal in the female. Women are thus stuck in the bind of having to choose between being "feminine"

and having their emotional stability questioned, or trying to be emotionally healthy and having their femininity questioned.

To the extent that women adhere to traditional definitions of femininity, they are thus cut off from the "masculine" aspects of their personalities, and oppressed because of the "feminine" qualities that they get. The feminine roles that have developed to complement those of men encourage women to develop qualities considered inferior, qualities which, so the argument goes, make it appropriate for them to fill the stations in life assigned to them. And so the "victims are blamed," to use William Ryan's (1981) phrase, for their oppression. To the extent that women internalize these norms, they wind up devaluing themselves and accepting as natural their inferior status.

While institutional practices and cultural norms such as these that support male privilege continue to oppress women no matter what individual men do, the demands of the male role often lead men to personally oppress and victimize women. Needing to be a success, a big wheel, to be on top, men can often fill those needs, if nowhere else, by asserting power over the women in their lives, particularly when those women are economically dependent on them.

To the extent that they are motivated also by what Korda calls a "need to control" (Korda, 1974, p. 211), men

have a tendency to "mutilate the personhood of those around us . . . our experience of those around us is always of possible or actual objects" (Kavalovsky, 1981, p. 211)--of people who somehow help them fill their needs. When male sexuality is experienced in this way, women become depersonalized sex objects, existing only to meet men's needs--to be someone to dominate; ultimately, in a metaphorical and at times literal sense, making "rape the behavioral expression of male sexuality under patriarchy." (Litewka, 1977, p. 24) Men's need to be "aggressive and violent," to "move against people" (Brannon and David, 1976, p. 27), can clearly contribute to such violence and sexual abuse against women, as sex and aggression become fused in the male consciousness (Brannon and David, p. 28). Filling the "needs" of the male role thus often leads men to engage in individual behaviors that are harmful and oppressive to women.

From the perspective summarized above, then, masculinity is harmful to women because it helps to legitimate and support the institutionalized sexism through which women are systematically excluded, discriminated against, and oppressed; because it theoretically relegates to them only half of their potential human qualities, qualities that prepare them for their subordinate role in a male-dominated society, and because it socializes men to dominate, objectify, and exploit them.

## The Harm to Men

Clearly, men derive many psychological and economic benefits from their dominant social position, but the very roles that produce those benefits carry with them many costs as well. Challenged by the feminist critique, and freed up by women's sex role liberation to re-examine their own roles, men, during the last ten years, have devoted much attention to studying the male role and its costs--attention that is reflected in the many books and articles on men and masculinity that have been published during that time (M.I.T. Men's Studies Collection, 1979; this study, p. 24).

As discussed above, Joseph Pleck, in his recent book, The Myth of Masculinity (1981), identifies in this re-evaluation of the male role a paradigmatic shift in sex role research from what he calls the Male Sex Role Identity paradigm, which saw traditional male sex role identity as a sign of healthy psychological adjustment, to the Sex Role Strain paradigm, which sees the dictates of the male role to be inherently contradictory to more fundamental psychological needs. In an earlier article, Pleck (1976) summarized some of these unmet needs as follows:

> Males need deeper emotional contact with other men and with children, less exclusive channeling of their emotional needs to relationships with women, less dependency of their self-esteem on work than the modern male role allows. (p. 161)

In referring to men's emotional deprivation, to their relationships with women, children, and other men, and to the world of work, Pleck draws our attention to the key themes upon which critics of the male role have focused.

One point on which all such critics agree is that, in polarizing human traits into masculine and feminine dimensions, and in defining men in terms of what they are not--not like women, the dominant definition of masculinity, to the extent that men live up to it, limits men, as it limits women, to but one-half of their human potential. Restricted from, in Brannon's and David's phrase, "anything even vaguely feminine," men--cool, calm, and rational, the doers, thinkers, controllers--tend to be emotionally deprived and interpersonally isolated. They are often cut off from their feelings and therefore from themselves, "never knowing and seldom experiencing [their] real selve[s] (Vittitow, p. 291), not knowing "who [they] are apart from what others have told [them] to be" (Vittitow, p. 293). Controlled, competitive, striving for achievement, men are often plagued by performance anxiety as they try to attain the unrealistic benchmarks of success that they have created (Lewis, 1981). As a result of this over-emphasis on work and achievement and through their emotional repression, men, in general, have lost much of their capacity for spontaneity (Degolia, 1973), for playfulness (Liss-Levinson, 1981), for compassion, and for nurturance (Lewis, 1981).

With these and other such limits in mind, the image of the healthy, well-adjusted male ideal is being replaced with a new paradigm of mental health and interpersonal competence--the androgynous individual, possessing a blend of masculine and feminine qualities, and having the flexibility to call on what is appropriate in a given situation (Bem, 1974, 1975, 1976; Helmreich, 1974). Related research has indicated that androgynous people, combining instrumental and expressive capacities, make the most effective group facilitators, leaders, and managers (Sargeant, 1971, 1979; Kanter, 1977, 1979). Other theoretical work on the development of sex role identity (Block, 1973; Pleck, 1976; Rebecca et al., 1976) suggests that an androgynous self-definition represents a higher level of psychological development than does adherence to stereotyped roles. (For a fuller description of these developmental models, see pages 41-43.)

The prescriptions of the male role, as we have seen, make men less than fully human, and in that sense dehumanize them, but the role is dehumanizing in a more profound sense as well. In treating others as less than fully human, men dehumanize themselves (Bucher, 1976). As Paolo Freire, the Brazilian educator, asserts (Freire, 1972), in playing the role of the oppressor, oppressors join the oppressed in a distortion of the "vocation of becoming

fully human" (p. 28). Men cannot have a full, authentic, and human relationship with people (i.e., women) "whose full humanity and sense of self they have obliterated" (Nichols, 1974, p. 190). The master can never trust the slave, nor vice versa. Men cannot have a free and authentic relationship with those they control and about whom they have a mythical and distorted image (Masters and Johnson, 1975). While those quoted here use extreme language, the point is still clear that men's relationships with women are hurt not only by men's emotional incapacities, but also by the dominant/subordinate dynamic created by the male/female power differential.

Turning now to men's relationships with other men, the patriarchal power system that makes men dominant over women "is the same system that pits young men against each other" (Lewis, 1981, p. 136) as they compete for the status, position, and authority that will supposedly confirm their masculinity. At the same time, their emotional constipation, interpersonal incompetence, and fear of vulnerability keep them emotionally isolated from one another (Goldberg, 1976; Sabo and Runfola, 1980). The male bonding that does occur, often through playing cards or sports, and drinking together, is usually emotionally superficial and serves only to validate men's masculinity and their dominance over women (Pleck, 1974; Sabo and Runfola, 1980).

Finally, and perhaps most powerfully, men's distance from other men is enforced and maintained by a deep homophobia (Lehne, 1981)--the fear of homosexuals and of homosexuality. Men's fear that they might be or be labelled homosexual thus inhibits any real sharing or intimacy between men, and is also a powerful enforcer of the male role in general (Lehne, 1981).

The emotional and interpersonal deprivation created by the personal dimension of the traditional male role, in combination with the social role demands for achievement and financial productivity, make masculinity physically destructive as well. Men die 7.6%, or 11 years, sooner than women, and are much more prone to such stress-related symptoms as high blood pressure, ulcers, and heart disease (Goldberg, 1976; Jourard, 1964). The "give-'em-hell" dimension of masculinity, which calls for violence, aggression, and daring, is surely dangerous as well, leading to deaths and injuries on the highway, in war, and in other violent confrontations.

Men's need to define themselves through work and personal achievement brings on other costs and liabilities as well. This need to work, and to "measure masculinity by the size of a paycheck," (Gould, 1973, p. 18) serves the needs of our economic institutions very well, motivating men to work for ends that are not their own, at jobs that

80% of them see as meaningless (Lewis, 1981, p. 60). In combination with the dictate that men should be tough, self-reliant, and unfeeling, this need leads men to proudly say, "I can take it" in response to unfulfilling and alienating work, rather than, "Why should I?" (Degolia, 1973, p. 114). As they buy into the values of the system, men tend to blame themselves if they fail to achieve as much as they'd like, concluding simply that they aren't "man enough" to make it (Pleck and Sawyer, 1974, p. 171).

In our hierarchical system, there is only so much room at the top, and, even then, there is always someone higher. Therefore, a price men pay for being dominant over women is buying into a system in which men are subordinated in another situation (Sawyer, 1974, p. 171). Furthermore, in Pleck's words (1981A, p. 246), "the relative privilege that men get from sexism plays a critical role in reconciling men to their subordination in the larger political economy." To the extent that men are indeed driven by a need to prove their masculinity, are alienated from their feelings and from each other, and are feeling superior at least to women, they are in a position to be exploited in the workplace.

## The Harm to Society

In this connection of the male role to patriarchy and to our economic system, one begins to see how sexism and classism can interconnect to the detriment of society at large. As noted above, men's relative privilege and dominance over women can help to reconcile them to a life in a political-economic system in which most men are essentially powerless, stuck in jobs in which their lives and their livelihood are essentially controlled by others. Enjoying their status as the dominant sex and perhaps believing in the myth that they, too, might make it to the top, most men appear to blame themselves and not the socio-economic system for the shortcomings that they experience. Sexism and male role norms thus form part of the ideology that supports the economic and political status quo.

In also shaping the behavior of those at the top, society's leaders, male role norms affect everyone else in society as well. It has been noted, for example, that "the need to choose corporate profit over social welfare is made easier by an emotional insensitivity that permits men at the top . . . not to feel too directly the pain of the people whose unmet needs they could but do not serve." (Pleck and Sawyer, 1974, p. 175)

Our male leaders further endanger society at large as they attempt to prove their masculinity in the world of foreign affairs (Steinhem, 1974). There is evidence to suggest that our nation's conduct in the Cuban missile crisis, in the Viet Nam War, and in the current nuclear-arms race, would have been very different if not for this "machismo in Washington" (Stone, 1974; Steinhem, 1974; Fasteau, 1974). Our dominant definition of masculinity not only has a tendency to limit and dehumanize us all, but in this world of nuclear confrontation, thus places our very existence in jeopardy.

## Summary/Discussion of the Critique of Traditional Masculinity

The essential points of the critique explored above can be summarized as follows: This culture's dominant definitions of masculinity support a combination of cultural norms, institutional practices, and individual behaviors:

-- that oppress women by depriving them of equal power and of equal opportunity to develop, by socializing them to develop personal qualities that prepare them for their inferior and subordinate status, and

by socializing men to dominate and exploit them.

-- that limit men by cutting them off from the stereotypically "feminine" aspects of their personalities, by endangering their emotional and physical health, by dehumanizing their relationships, and by pacifying them into accepting other forms of exploitation.

-- that place society itself in danger through its connection to other forms of exploitation and to our nation's conduct in the world of nuclear confrontation.

Before moving on to explore some of the alternative conceptions of masculinity that have been proposed in response to these criticisms, it is important to make a few comments as to the validity of this critique. To begin with, some of the critics quoted above, those who speak in terms of universal truths and extreme situations, seem to over-state the case in order to make a point. Such exaggeration, however, does not necessarily invalidate the essential points of their critique, which may still be valid for most people most of the time. Indeed, many points in this critique, such as women's lack of economic and political power, men's higher levels of stress and illness, variance in men's and women's personality

development, and psychologists' judgments about emotional health, can be empirically validated, at least in terms of the instruments used to establish these "facts."

Most of the critique, however, rests on various theoretical formulations and psychological constructs that are themselves based on the assumption, as discussed earlier, about the relative importance of the social, as opposed to the biological, causation of sex role differentiation. The critique is "true," therefore, only in terms of this perspective and the assumptions upon which it is based. It is also important to point out that the various critics of the traditional male role quoted above are all, as far as I know, and along with myself, white people writing about masculinity as experienced by white men. While the dominant definition of masculinity and the problems it creates may, to some extent, be valid across cultures and races, there are undoubtedly many variations in the male role and its effects among various cultural and racial groups. The critique and the male role definition which preceded it should, therefore, be considered most relevant to whites. With these qualifications in mind, and with the essential points of the critique summarized, we are now prepared to explore the new definitions of masculinity that have been emerging.

# C H A P T E R  I I I

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE ADDRESSING THE TRANSITION IN MASCULINITY

### Alternative Conceptions of Masculinity

Thus far in this study, through an exploration of the prevailing definitions of masculinity and male identity, an examination of the historical/economic context in which the current re-examination of the male role is taking place, and a summary of the criticisms of that role, some of the factors underlying the current transition in masculinity have been explored. The task now at hand is to develop a profile of what the "new male" should be like. In order to do so, various proposed definitions of the "new male" will be summarized and explored, and, finally, a composite picture of a new male that combines and reconciles the key points of all of the proposals will be developed.

As has been demonstrated above, not only are our traditional concepts of masculinity widely viewed as historically out of date and inappropriate for our modern, post-industrial society, they also have been widely criticized for being harmful to women and to men as well. As more and more women and men become convinced that sexism

and sex roles have a damaging effect on them, the pressure on men to change grows greater and greater. As Robert Lewis (1981) puts it, for example, "men are in difficult times," and "they must change, for their own good [and] for the good of everyone else." (p. xv)

While many men, as pointed out earlier (see p. 16), have responded to these difficult times by trying to maintain and reassert traditional forms of masculinity and male dominance, many others have been struggling to find a new kind of masculinity, "a new manner of being men" (Rowbotham, 1973) that is less oppressive to women and/or more fulfilling for them. Proponents of such a new male consciousness have articulated, from their variety of perspectives, a variety of proposals for just what this "new male" should be like. These new models of masculinity fall into three categories: the liberated male, the androgynous male, and the anti-sexist male. Each of these categories will now be explored.

## The Liberated Man

The ideal of the liberated man is expressed and developed in some of the groundbreaking books on men and masculinity (Farrel, 1974; Nichols, 1975; Feigen-Fasteau, 1975; Goldberg, 1976) and in other writings that have emerged from what has been called the men's liberation movement.

The liberated man, writes Warren Farrel in his book by that name, would have the "psychological freedom to control [his] own life." (p. 3) Quite simply, he would be liberated from the confines of the self-imposed male role. "The shackled man," in Jack Nichols' words, "can free himself . . . from all of the cultural straitjackets and mental stereotypes that warp men's attitudes and behavior." (p. 125) He would be free from "the burdens of being the master." (Sawyer, 1974, p. 171) He would, therefore, be free from obsessive competitiveness, from the fear of effeminacy, from exaggerated nervousness in male friendships; free from the pressure to achieve, succeed, be cool, and get ahead.

With this psychological freedom, the liberated man would be free to "recapture [his] full humanity." (Berkeley, 1971, p. 173) By working to "free the sister in [himself]] (Keith, 1974, p. 88) and "integrate [his] feminine side," (Goldberg, 1979, p. 183) he would make it possible to experience and express his feelings, to let go and experience his weakness and his dependency, to learn to relax and to play, to be more conscious of and comfortable in his body, to develop closer relationships with other men as he learned to accept his feelings for them and move beyond his homophobia (Farrel, 1974; Nichols, 1975; Goldberg, 1976, 1979; Fasteau, 1975; Keith, 1974; Lewis, 1971). Freed from

the pressure to succeed and be the breadwinner, and more in touch with his expressive and nurturant side, the liberated father, for example, would be able to share equally in childcare and in the other work of the home (Farrel, 1974).

Looking back over these descriptions, it seems apparent that advocates of this "liberated" man tend to describe him and his "shackled" predecessor in very stereotyped terms, and seem to imply that he could become liberated by a simple change of heart, ignoring the inherent internal and external struggle involved in any personal and social change process. They do, however, articulate a model of a new "ideal" kind of man, an ideal which, like all ideals, is, by definition, never totally attainable. In that sense, the stereotyped descriptions may be appropriate, and may serve more as a model of perfection than as a reachable goal.

Since their focus is on what men should be liberated from, rather than on what men should become, their model of perfection is not described very concretely. But while advocates of this ideal stress the liberation of men from the limits of the traditional male role, they do not suggest that men should cast off all masculine qualities and become totally feminized. Their new ideal, when described specifically, seems to involve more of a balance between masculine and feminine qualities. Freed from the social

and psychological demands of his male role, and in touch with his feminine side, this new "renaissance man," combining "mind and body, achievement and affiliation," (Crites, 1978, p. 14) would be able to be "both assertive and yielding, independent and dependent, job- and people-oriented, strong and gentle." (Fasteau, p. 196)

## The Androgynous Man

Defined in these terms of a combination of stereotypically masculine and feminine qualities, the liberated man approaches the model of psychological androgyny proposed by Bem (1974) and others (Heilbrun, Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1974) as a new paradigm of mental health and a new "model of perfection, free from culturally imposed models of masculinity and femininity." (Bem, 1975, p. 53) The androgynous personality, from this perspective, would be a new ideal for both sexes, combining "the very best of what masculine and feminine has come to represent," (Bem, 1975, p. 53) "while eliminating the dysfunctional extremes." (Kaplan and Bean, 1976A, p. 384) Transcending the following so-called masculine and feminine principles of personality, the androgynous person would be capable of being both instrumental and expressive (Parsons and Bales, 1977), both agental and communal (Baken, 1966), concerned with both inner and outer space (Erikson, 1964).

The androgynous person would, therefore, not be imprisoned by sex role stereotypes, but have the capacity and flexibility to behave in either a "masculine" or "feminine" manner, depending on the situation, and even eventually be able "to combine the traits in a single act," (Bem, 1977, p. 211) so that people could develop such hybrid qualities as assertive dependence, rational sensitivity, tender forcefulness, etc." (Kaplan, 1979, p. 227), with each quality "tempered by the other." (Bem, 1976, p. 51) Free from socially imposed models, he/she would be "in control of his/her life goals and values" and be able to "make self-directed choices" about how to express him/herself (Kaplan and Bean, 1976, p. 385).

The androgynous man, as described above, represents a composite of the models of psychological androgyny suggested at various times by the psychologists I have quoted, including Bem, Heilbrun, Kaplan, and Bean. As such, it is probably a broader definition of the term than any single one of them has articulated.

Simply summarized, this psychologically androgynous man would be free from the dictates of sex role stereotypes, have a balance of stereotypically "masculine" and "feminine" qualities, and be able to express whichever of those qualities or combination of qualities seemed most appropriate and functional in any given situation. It is this

definition of androgyny that will be used throughout the rest of this paper.

This model of psychological androgyny limits itself to describing the new male in terms of personality and interpersonal behavior, although it can be clearly inferred that psychologically androgynous people would feel free to engage in cross-sex social role behavior. Some advocates of this ideal have explicitly extended the description to include social roles--the other aspect of sex roles. "Our use of the model," write Kaplan and Bean (1976A) "is both individual and cultural. It includes personality changes as well as role changes embedded in a larger societal context." (p. 383) In these terms, the androgynous man would, therefore, also take on his share of "feminine" roles.

But, in pointing to a "need for joint interacting changes between alternatives in one's life roles and one's personality traits," (p. 383) as Kaplan and Bean do, and in referring to the "larger societal context," they indirectly raise the question of whether or not such role changes and, therefore, such personality changes which, to some extent, require new roles in which they can be performed, are, in fact, possible in today's society. As shall be discussed in more depth in looking at criticisms of the androgynous ideal, feeling free to take on new roles is not the same as being free to do so. Overcoming internal blocks to

androgyny does not mean that all external blocks can be overcome as well. Many changes in the social and economic structure of society's institutions may be necessary for men, and particularly women, to have the opportunity to engage in such behavior. Before looking more carefully at this and other possible limitations of the androgynous ideal, some other articulations of that ideal will be explored.

## Androgyny and sex role identity development

Some psychologists have suggested that an androgynous or sex role transcendent role definition is not only healthier and more functional in today's society, but also represents the highest stage in a process of sex role identity development, corresponding to other forms of psychological development, with rigidly polarized sex roles representing a fixation at a lower developmental level. Pleck (1976); Block (1973); and Rebecca, Hafner, and Oleshansky (1976) all propose developmental models applying to both men and women that involve three basic phases: (1) Acquisition or learning of traditional sex roles; (2) Conformity to those roles; and (3) Post-conformity or sex role transcendence.

Pleck describes three phases corresponding to Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental levels of moral development;

the Premoral, Conventional, and Post-conventional. From this point of view, as people develop cognitively, they move from the Premoral phase, where they are learning "appropriate gender roles," to the Conventional phase, where they rigidly conform to sex role stereotypes, to the Post-conventional phase, where they are capable of transcending sex roles, along with other rigid definitions of right and wrong, and develop an identity "in accordance with their inner tendencies." (p. 170) One implication of this model is that people could not transcend sex roles and become androgynous without developing the cognitive capacity to perform formal operations. (It is important to point out, however, that, while this model may describe a developmental sequence experienced by both men and women, Gilligan [1982] and others have pointed out the male bias in Kohlberg's work and described an alternative sequence of female moral development. It would be safer, therefore, to restrict to men Pleck's model of sex role development, which is based on Kohlberg's phases of moral development.)

Block (1973) proposes a similar, but more differentiated, model, based on Loevinger's stages of ego development (p. 65):

| Loevinger's Stage of Ego Development | Block's Extrapolation to Sex Role Development |
|---|---|
| Presocial | |
| Impulse ridden | Development of gender identity, self-assertion, self-expression, self-interest. |
| Self-protective | Extension of self, self-extension, self-enhancement. |
| Conformity | Conformity to external role, development of sex role stereotypes, bifurcation of sex roles. |
| Conscientious | Examination of self as sex role exemplar vis-a-vis internalized values. |
| Autonomous | Differentiation of sex role, coping with conflicting masculine-feminine aspects of self. |
| Integrated | Achievement of individually defined sex role, integration of both masculine and feminine aspects of self, androgynous sex role definition. |

In comparison to Pleck's model, Block's describes the process of movement from rigid conformity to "Autonomy" and "Integration" in more incremental terms, but the end, or highest level, of development remains an "androgynous sex role definition."

Rebecca, Hefner, and Oleshansky (1976; see also Hefner, Rebecca, and Oleshansky, 1975), while not basing their model on any particular developmental theory, describe a similar developmental process from, in their terms, (1) Undifferentiated sex roles to (2) Polarized sex roles to

(3) Sex Role Transcendence. By "sex role transcendence," they mean "the achievement of a dynamic and flexible orientation to life in which assigned gender is irrelevant." (Hefner et al., 1975, p. 141) They argue that their definition of transcendence goes beyond Bem's and others' definition of androgyny, in that it calls for people to not only be "masculine" or "feminine" as the situation demands, but also "implies the kind of flexibility that would try to change the situation" in order to maintain one's personal integrity, "not just adjust to it." (Rebecca et al., p. 204) Androgyny is not defined by them as a fixed goal or ideal state, but rather as "the beginning of a dialectical orientation to life which is in continuous and dynamic flux." (Rebecca et al., p. 151)

Despite some variations between these developmental models, all three describe some form of freedom from traditional sex role definitions as the highest and most desirable form of development. While Rebecca et al. and Pleck, however, talk of "sex role transcendence" as the highest form of development--a quality that might be called "autonomy" in regard to sex role expectations, Block describes that highest state in terms of "an androgynous self-definition . . . an integration of masculine and feminine qualities." Sex role transcendence, or liberation from sex roles, as the liberated man model calls for, implies a

moving beyond any concern with living up to prescribed sex roles and sex-typed personalities, and the freedom to develop and express any qualities regardless of gender. The androgynous ideal, on the other hand, when described as an equal balance or a particular combination of masculine and feminine qualities, can sound like another norm to conform to, another prescription for how people should behave, rather than a means to more autonomy and choice.

These two models, the transcendent or liberated man, and the androgynous man, would in this sense appear to be very different. But it can be argued, I believe, that these developmental models, along with the other definitions of androgyny and the descriptions of the liberated man, together comprise a single new model of the "ideal man." The "liberated man" and the "androgynous man," as described in the literature and summarized above, can be seen, upon closer examination, as essentially synonymous. While advocates of the liberated man emphasize what he should be liberated from, when they describe what he should be free to do, it is to become androgynous; and while advocates of androgyny emphasize the ideal combination of masculine and feminine qualities, they make clear that people can become androgynous only by becoming liberated from traditional sex role definitions.

Thus, the liberated man and the androgynous man as described in the literature share, to some degree, these two basic qualities: they are autonomous and they are androgynous. Quotations already cited above in the descriptions of both ideal types can serve to further define these terms, as they will be used throughout this paper, and demonstrate that they are characteristic of both the liberated man and the androgynous man. (Sources describing the liberated man are coded with an "L"; those describing the androgynous man with an "A.")

AUTONOMOUS:

-- having "psychological freedom to control his own life" (Farrel, p. 3) L

-- "in control of his own life goals and values" (Kaplan and Bean, p. ) A

-- "able to make self-directed choices about how to express himself" (Kaplan and Bean, p. 65) A

-- "autonomous" (Block, p. 65) A

-- "free from culturally imposed models of masculinity and femininity (Bem, 1975, p. 53) A A

ANDROGYNOUS:

-- combining the very best of what masculine and feminine have to offer" (Bem) A

-- integration of both masculine and feminine aspects of self" (Block) A

-- able to "integrate his feminine side" (Goldberg) L

and "free the sister in himself" (Keith) L

-- "combining mind and body, achievement and affiliation" (Crites) L

-- able to be "both assertive and yielding, independent and dependent, job- and people-oriented, strong and gentle" (Nichols) L

Simply substantiating, as I have done, however, that the liberated man and the androgynous man, as described above, share these two qualities avoids the question of whether or not autonomy and androgyny are inherently contradictory characteristics. One could argue, for instance, that while the androgynous man might be free and autonomous vis-a-vis traditional sex role definitions, he is not autonomous in the sense of feeling free not to be androgynous. This particular contradiction can, in my opinion, be resolved, however, if we define androgyny not as exhibiting a set balance or combination of masculine and feminine behaviors and roles, but rather as simply having the capacity and feeling free to do so regardless of one's gender and the norms of appropriate behavior, while maintaining

the autonomy and freedom to choose which behaviors to engage in and which roles to fill. Such a combination of autonomy and androgyny would appear to be necessary in order to give the "new male" the improved interpersonal effectiveness and psychic wholeness of an androgynous self-definition, along with the freedom to act in accord with his own inclinations and principles, regardless of any social prescriptions.

The question now at hand is to what extent this new autonomous/androgynous man can, in theory and practice, overcome the harmful effects of the traditional masculinity.

## The limits of androgyny and sex role liberation

If sexism and the limits it places on the human development of women and men is defined solely in terms of sex role stereotyping, then it would appear that the definitions of sex role liberation and androgyny summarized above would provide a solution to the problem, if people could indeed achieve that liberation and new androgynous self-definition. But these forms of personal redefinition, which involve the removal of what can be termed the internal blocks to autonomous androgyny, ignore the potential external blocks to such androgyny--the factors in the social/economic/political environment that may make it difficult, if not impossible, for men, and particularly women, to actually engage in a fully androgynous range of behaviors and roles. As mentioned earlier, feeling free to be androgynous is not the same as being free to do so.

The many critics of these points of view (Stoltenberg, 1977, 1977A; Snodgrass, 1976, 1977, 1979; Tolson, 1978; Lewis, 1981; Hornacek, 1977; Sabo and Runfola, 1980; Hanish, 1975; Grimstad, 1977; Secor, 1974) have described what they see as some of the limitations of describing the problem and the solution in terms of sex role stereotyping and sex role liberation/androgyny. The two basic limitations they describe are that this way of framing the issue: (1) obscures the connection between individual and social change by overlooking the social, political, and economic changes necessary to create a society in which people could become fully androgynous; (2) equates men's oppression with women's oppression and, as a result, obscures women's oppression by obscuring male dominance, male privilege, male power, and the resultant institutionalized sexism and victimization of women. In other words, according to these critics, androgyny or sex role liberation as a goal: (1) does not go far enough in describing how men must change if women are also to be liberated, and (2) does not consider the social changes necessary to make even androgyny itself a possibility. Each of these points will now be considered in more depth.

The ideology of sex role liberation, it is argued, is a way of freeing men from most of the harmful effects of sexism without necessarily freeing women. Men who personally become more androgynous still benefit automatically

from various forms of male privilege and power, such as access to higher-paying jobs, freedom from the fear of sexual assault, and the acceptance of male values and ways of thinking as the norm. "Unless you distinguish between the forms of male behavior and the substance of male privilege," concludes Interrante (1981) "you are led into a world of make believe." (p. 59) "Failing to deal with the whole question of power," (Nelson, 1980, pp. 242-243) this "feminism as lifestyle," as Interrante calls it (p. 57), offers no analysis of "how men continue to victimize women, how men themselves resist sharing privileges with women, and how men manage to resist changing their relationships with women." (Glazer, p. 38) With no focus on how they are oppressors, men are thus freed from any responsibility to change.

The structure of male domination is also seen by some as limiting to men themselves in its effect on their relationships. "A man cannot be truly liberated," writes Nelson (1980), "without giving up his power." (p. 243) If he is to enjoy authentic and fulfilling relationships with women and other men, it is therefore "necessary to destroy the inequality." (Silvester, 1981, p. 219) If men and women are to be truly liberated, then, men must not only free themselves from sex role stereotypes and become androgynous, they must also join "the struggle to dismantle institutional male privilege." (Snodgrass, 1979, p. 272)

Along with his concern about male dominance and the inequalities of social, political, and economic power that would continue even if men became androgynous, there is also some question as to whether or not men and women could even become personally androgynous within the current socio-economic structure. Some early critics of androgyny (Secor, 1974; Harris, 1974), for instance, focused their critique not on whether or not androgyny is a desirable end; they agreed that it is; but rather on the point that it should be seen not as a "possible present state," but as a "future post-revolutionary utopian state" (Secor, 1974, p. 164). The ideal androgynous person, presented "devoid of any social context," would, it is argued, require a new context in which to develop (Secor, 1974).

The "personal is political," one of the key insights of the femininist movement, implies that not only are the roots of personal and social problems to be found in the political and social sphere, the solutions are to be found there as well. If men suffer from socialization into rigid sex role stereotypes, the cure cannot be simply transcendence of those roles, a solution that one critic refers to as "a response to feminism within the confines of an individualistic free-market mentality," (Interrante, 1981, p. 59) but must also involve the creation of a society based on alternative values and needs. "Changing

consciousness depends," writes Snodgrass," on the changing dialectics of changing conditions." (1979, p. 273) From this perspective, traditional masculinity must be seen as a social problem with a social solution.

Some proponents of androgyny who agree that people can become androgynous only in a society that is supportive of such behavior (Bazin and Freeman, 1974; Kaplan and Bean, 1976A; Defronzo, 1974), contrast our current patriarchal capitalist society with an androgynous socialistic one: ". . . the androgynous ideal must include radical change--the introduction of co-operative, non-hierarchical, non-elitist structures into our society . . ." (Bazin and Freeman, p. 211) to replace the present "competitive achievement-oriented" structures (Kaplan and Bean, 1976A). We must, argue Bazin and Freeman, (p. 211) "democratize, re-humanize, and re-organize the political, economic, and cultural life of the people" to produce "a new collective system." (p. 211) Androgyny is incompatible with a capitalistic economic system, concludes Defronzo (1974, because too much feminine expressivity and concern for people would be dysfunctional within it.

Other critics of the male role concur with this analysis. Tolson (1978), for instance, concludes that "men's gender identity is interwoven with the ideology of free individuality, which supports the system of capitalist wage

labor." (p. 145) "What is missing," writes Snodgrass (1979, p. 271), is "an understanding of the ways in which the masculine role supports the capitalist system" and an analysis of "how the requirements of the role serve the social structure." From this point of view, a successful struggle with sexism must lead "to a struggle with capitalism," (Snodgrass, 1974, p. 271) in order to create the kind of society in which true androgyny would be a possibility.

From this point of view, therefore, the new male must be aware of how our definition of traditional masculinity supports and is supported by our social and economic system, and must be engaged in a struggle against that system. It is in creating the new society that is non-hierarchical, co-operative, and free from injustice to women, that the "new man" would be formed. Without such social changes, these critics argue, redefining masculinity can take men and women only so far.

## The Anti-Sexist Man

As we have seen, those critics of masculinity who focus more on ending women's oppression than on liberating men, argue that the "new male" should be actively anti-sexist and pro-feminist as well as, or instead of, being androgynous. Some of the specific actions they suggest men can take include:

-- refuse to co-operate with male bonding (Stoltenberg, 1977A)
-- confront sexism in other men (Grimstad, 1977)
-- do one's share of life's day to day drudgery (Dansky, Knoebel and Pitchford, 1977)
-- read and study feminist texts (Stoltenberg, 1977A)
-- identify male privileges (Grimstad, 1977)
-- stop personally oppressing women (Degolia, 1973)
-- support efforts of women/feminists (Tolson, 1978; Grimstad, 1977)
-- make the personal political in your life (Grimstad, 1977)

Those most concerned with the links of masculinity and capitalism argue that men should become "anti-sexist socialists" (Snodgrass, 1979A, p. 9) and in addition to the above:

-- analyze the connections between sexism and capitalism and between the male role and the needs of our economic system (Snodgrass, 1979)
-- struggle against capitalism (Snodgrass, 1979; Hanisch, 1975)

From this latter point of view, the social and economic changes created by socialism, in conjunction with he personal changes stimulated by feminism and by a commitment to androgyny, would allow for the development of a society more supportive of everyone's full personal development.

## The "New Male": A Composite Profile

While, as discussed above, the profiles of the liberated and androgynous man appear to leave out a focus on what men can and should do to create a society in which full liberation and androgyny are indeed possible for all, it is important to note that the above descriptions of the anti-sexist man and the anti-sexist socialist man leave out any focus on how men can or should change on a personal-psychological level, and on what men have to gain from a liberation from sex roles and from the creation of a non-sexist androgynous society. Rather than attempt to determine which of these positions is more satisfactory and continue what Bazin and Freeman (1974) call "the needless" debate between emphasis on changing the individual or society first (p. 212), it seems preferable to explore instead how men can work at both levels at once. As Bazin and Freeman conclude, "It should be obvious that the personal and political are interdependent, that the androgynous vision requires a radical change in both the individual and

the society." (p. 212) Indeed, there appears to be, as Nona Glazer concludes, (1977) "a need to change male consciousness at the individual level . . . and struggle for humane change at the institutional level." (p. 338)

The necessary interconnection of personal and political change would indeed appear to be obvious, but few advocates of a new definition of masculinity manage to combine both perspectives. In summarizing the various descriptions of the liberated and androgynous man, it was concluded above that such men would be (1) autonomous and (2) androgynous. A new male able to work for political as well as personal changes would need to add the following two qualities:

(3) awareness (social and political consciousness): about how masculinity and sexism are institutionalized, about the relationship of masculinity to our socio-economic system, and about the changes necessary to create a more just and equitable society.

(4) activism: a commitment to struggle against sexism and other related forms of oppression, and to struggle for what he sees as the required social and economic changes. (As James Edler [1974] states in regard to racism, "once we see the immensity and

complexity of the problem, we must act."
[p. 58])

These four qualities or characteristics--autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism--that have been derived from various proposals in the literature about how men can and should change, together constitute the outline of a new definition of masculinity that stands in opposition and contradiction to the oppressive and dehumanizing forms of masculinity summarized at the beginning of this study. This outline of a new male consciousness and identity can stand as a statement of goals or ends toward which men who are changing, and those helping men to change, can strive. A fuller, more operational, description of each of these qualities will make them more clear and useful as a set of objectives. (Where appropriate, the source of the objective is noted.)

Autonomy

-- able to make self-directed choices about how to express oneself (Kaplan and Bean)
-- able to more rationally choose to retain and/or discard intrapersonal, interpersonal, and societal beliefs, attitudes, and values (Weinstein, 1982)
-- able to choose to behave or think in ways that contradict one's socialization and learned patterns of behavior
-- free from culturally imposed models of masculinity and femininity (Bem)

Androgyny*

-- able to express feelings (Kanter)

-- able to pay attention to feelings in self and others, and to accept them as a valid part of oneself (Kanter)

-- able to touch and be touched by men and women with less inhibition over the presence or absence of sexuality (Sargeant)

-- able to experience and show one's vulnerability and imperfection (Kanter)

-- able to behave co-operatively (Kanter)

-- able to accept and express the need to be dependent and to be nurtured (Kanter)

-- able to listen actively and empathetically (Sargeant)

-- able to value an identity that is not defined solely by work (Sargeant)

-- able to act in a masculine, feminine, or integrated manner, depending on the situation (Bem)

*In this case, it is the qualities and competencies that most men must learn and acquire that are listed. It is assumed that the average man already possesses the "masculine" qualities. Most of these examples are drawn from lists compiled by Alice Sargeant (1977) and Rosabeth Kanter (1977) of qualities that men need to develop. This is not a complete list, but examples.

Awareness (Social-Political)

-- an understanding of the privileges and benefits that men enjoy in this society

-- an understanding of the costs to men of these benefits

-- an understanding of how social institutions create, maintain, and reinforce sexist oppression

-- an understanding of how traditional definitions of masculinity support and are supported by our socio-economic system

-- an understanding of sexism's effects on women

-- an understanding of how one's own socialization has affected one's attitudes and behaviors in regard to sex roles

Activism (Anti-Sexist)

-- follow a personal lifestyle that is consistent with gender equity and is not oppressive to women
-- work for social and institutional changes that will eliminate male dominance and create a more equitable society
-- support women and other men in their efforts to change themselves and society
-- work for the creation of a co-operative, non-hierarchical society.

To summarize once again this portrait of "the new male": He is able to transcend his sex role socialization and act as he chooses in the present, he is capable of performing traditionally feminine as well as masculine behaviors, he is aware of institutional sexism and of the connections between masculinity and capitalism, and he is committed to acting against sexism and other forms of oppression, and for the creation of a more equitable society.

This "new male" is similar in many ways to what anti-racist activists Robert Terry (1970) and James Edler (1974) have described respectively as the "new white" and "the internally directed white activist." If the terms "male" and "sexist" are substituted for "white" and "racist," Terry's description of "the new white consciousness" can serve as a powerful summation of what new male consciousness can be:

> The "new" in the label points to fress possibilities. We are not totally limited by our past. [Male] is a constant reminder . . . that we still participate in [sexist] institutions and culture. Consciousness continually reminds us that we need to reconstruct totally our understanding of who we are and what we ought to do. (p. 20)

The implicit analogy between racism and sexism and between the new white and the new male which makes it appropriate to use this quotation and substitute terms as I have done, is based on the assumption that many similarities exist among various forms of oppression, such as racism and sexism, and in the dynamics of dominance and subordinance in which they result and through which they are maintained; similarities that include the ways in which men and whites learn to be dominant, and the ways in which they can unlearn those old ways of being white and male and can begin to learn some new ones.

At another point in his book, For Whites Only, Terry states (again, "racist" is changed to "sexist" and "white" to "male"):

> Being anti-[sexist] is not enough. Defining what we are against moves into clarifying what we are for. An increasing number of [men] are being challenged to articulate alternatives to [sexism] that go beyond simply its elimination. The urgent question that [men] must answer is: What alternative models can replace the present white male dominated society? (p. 12)

The new male described above has an answer to this question. He is not only against sexism and the traditional

definition of masculinity, but he is also for androgyny and the sort of co-operative, non-hierarchical society in which such androgyny would be possible. He is committed to the personal growth and redefinition that make him a fuller, more self-actualized person, and to the social activism that is necessary to create a society free from the present inequities between men and women, a society in which this personal redefinition and fulfillment would be possible for all.

## Existing Approaches for Educating Men About Sex Roles and Sexism

In this review of literature that addresses the transition in masculinity, various alternative conceptions of masculinity have been explored and these conceptions have been synthesized to produce a composite portrait of a new masculinity that stands in contradiction to what has been criticized about traditional masculinity. That portrait is summarized in the four qualities: autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism. The other category of literature which addresses the transition is that which describes approaches for helping men to re-evaluate traditional masculinity and perhaps move toward these alternative conceptions.

In reviewing this literature, two basic questions will be addressed: (1) To what extent and in what ways have others in the helping professions: education, counseling, and psychology, to whom this study is primarily addressed, recognized a need for education and counseling men about this issue? and (2) What approaches to this work have been described in the literature, both popular and professional, and to what extent are these approaches adequate and appropriate? Answering these questions will help to establish the need for the present study.

## On Recognition of Need

As sexism, sex roles, and the male role in particular have come under more and more scrutiny and attack, a few clinicians in the helping professions have joined the feminist and men's movement activists in recognizing a need for counseling, education, and training about male sex role issues. The literature which recognizes this need falls into three categories:

1. The need for counseling and support for men who are in transition and experiencing various manifestations of sex role strain--including those feeling the pressure to change and not knowing how to respond to it, those suffering from the strain of living up to rigid sex role definitions, and those wanting to change but needing support and training in order to do so. (Berger, 1979; Bear, Berger, and Wright, 1979; O'Neil, 1981; Stein, 1983) In this category, Bear et al. (1979), for instance, call attention to the needs of "Cowboys Who Sing the Blues: The Difficulties Experienced by Men Trying to Adopt Non-Traditional Sex Roles," and Berger (1979) notes the special needs of men trying to adopt new family roles.

2. The need to increase the awareness of other men about the physical and emotional hazards of living according to the traditional male role, and about the possible relationship of their problems in living to the male

socialization they experienced. O'Neil, for instance, calls on counselors to "help people recognize how rigid sex role attitudes and behaviors may conflict with new societal expectations, interpersonal effectiveness, and positive physical and mental health." (O'Neil, 1979, p. 61) Berk, noting that many counselors have become sensitive to the effects of sex role issues on women, suggests the need for a similar recognition of the effects of sexism on men. Sher (1981) asserts that many "men need counseling because many of them are unhappy, dissatisfied with their lives, and damaged by their roles," (p. 198) and calls on counselors to make use of their role as "potential male liberators," helping men to see the value of "emotional introspection" and overcome some of the emotionally unhealthy aspects of the role.

3. <u>The need for education and training of counselors and other helping professionals in order to increase their awareness and sensitivity to male sex role issues</u>, and to prepare them to perform the functions described above. O'Neil (1981), Nelson and Segrist (1976), Stein (1983), Birk (1981), Bear, Berger, and Wright (1979), and Berger (1979) all recommend consciousness raising experiences for counselors in training in order to increase their sensitivity to the issue. Berk, for instance, notes the need for "acquiring knowledge in all areas of male socialization and

gender-related issues, assessing and possibly modifying attitudes about sex roles, and finally learning intervention strategies that maximize counselor helpfulness in relation to male clients." (p. 81) O'Neil (1981) recommends:

> formal course content . . . in counselor training programs about sexism, male socialization, and sex role conflicts. Required course work, seminars, and specific units in the established curricula are needed to sensitize counselors-in-training to the problems that may occur due to restrictive notions of masculinity and femininity. The courses also could address how institutional sexism may perpetuate and support restrictive and discriminatory policies through their male dominated values, attitudes, and institutional structures. (p. 76)

Thus, a need has been recognized by numerous mental health professionals for counseling, education, training, and consciousness raising experiences about masculinity. These experiences would function as: (1) <u>therapy</u> or growth facilitating experiences for men; and (2) <u>training</u> for those who will help respond to these needs in others. The present study should contribute to both of these functions. It is important to note also that the need, as recognized by these mental health clinicians, is coming from a perspective of those trying to help <u>men</u> cope with their emotional and psychological problems and lead fuller and happier lives. As such, the emphasis is on what is good or bad for men, not on what is good or bad for women, or on how men's changes may affect women. Also, coming from a psychological perspective, the emphasis is on facilitating

personal and personality changes, not on facilitating or on helping others to facilitate social change. The effects of this perspective on the approaches proposed in the professional literature will become clear in what follows.

## The Approaches Described in the Literature

In response to the sorts of needs described above, educators and mental health practitioners, along with feminist activists, seem to be paying more and more attention to the effects of male socialization on their male clients, and to be searching for effective ways of helping men move beyond the limits of traditional stereotypes. During the last few years, at least three books (Karsk, 1979; Skovholt, 1980; Levy and Solomon, 1983) and numerous articles (Bear, Berger, and Wright, 1979; Crites, 1978; Scher, 1981; Berger, 1979; Birig, 1981; O'Neil, 1981; Nelson and Segrist, 1976) have been published describing various approaches to that task. These approaches described in the professional literature join those that have been written by various men's movement participants and activists during the last decade.

Approaches suggested in this literature for helping men to change include such one-on-one strategies as various confrontation tactics for women (Scazioni, 1979) and individual counseling techniques (Crites, 1979; Sher, 1981;

Skovholt, 1980), along with group-oriented strategies such as CR groups, therapy groups, workshops, and academic courses. While some of the individual and group approaches do have many characteristics in common, the review below will be limited to group-oriented approaches because the development of a group pedagogy for men's consciousness raising is the focus of this study. Also, while a multitude of group experiences in which men may participate, such as T-groups, therapy groups, or other personal growth groups, may lead directly to a re-evaluation of men's gender role definitions, this review will be limited to those approaches which have such evaluation and re-definition as a primary goal. Finally, this review will not be limited to approaches open only to men, but will include those designed for mixed gender groups. To summarize, this review will include group-oriented strategies with a primary goal of sex role re-evaluation that are for men only or for mixed gender groups.

Those approaches meeting these criteria can be divided into two basic categories. (1) The first category includes those that assume as a pre-requisite for participation a desire on the part of the men involved to change in some way their awareness, expression, and definition of the male gender role. In this category, in which all of the approaches are designed for men only, are two subcategories: (a) consciousness raising groups; and (b)

personal development workshops. (2) The second category includes those approaches that assume no prior awareness or commitment to change. In this category, in which most of the approaches are designed for women as well as men, the sub-categories include: (a) courses on sex roles within educational institutions; and (b) structured experiences for examining sex roles, some of which are offered within and some outside of formal academic settings.

The various approaches reviewed will be described and defined in terms of the basic structure and process used. They will also be categorized in regard to (1) for whom they are designed--men or men and women, with or without any particular pre-requisite awareness or commitment; and (2) the goals they aim to achieve. Most of these approaches can be categorized in terms of which of the following alternative conceptions of masculinity (as defined above on pp. 36-55), they are trying to help men move toward: (a) the liberated/androgynous man, who has overcome the limitations to him of the male sex role; (b) the anti-sexist man, who works for women's liberation and against sexism in himself and others; and (c) some combination of the two. In order to categorize the approaches in these terms, the objectives of each approach will be categorized as to whether or not they include the new male qualities embodied in these alternative conceptions of

masculinity: autonomy and androgyny (embodied in the liberated/androgynous man), and awareness and activism (embodied in the anti-sexist man).

The categories of the various approaches in terms of who they are for and what they hope to achive will make it possible to assess the strengths and weaknesses of each approach, of each category of approaches, and of the work that is being done in general. These categorizations, which will be explained fully in the following discussion, are summarized on chart 1 on page 87.

1) Approaches with Pre-Requisite Levels of Awareness or Commitment

a) Consciousness Raising Groups

All of the approaches to be discussed in this entire review could be described in some sense as consciousness raising groups--groups which attempt to help to change in some way men's consciousness about what it means or should mean to be a man. Only one type of approach, however, is described by those using it as a CR group, and it is only approaches of that type that will be included under this heading.

Despite the probable existence of thousands of men's CR groups during the last 15 years, this phenomenon has received very little attention in the professional literature, perhaps because most of these groups exist outside of

CHART I: GOALS OF EXISTING CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING APPROACHES FOR MEN

| Approach | Designed for Men or Men and Women | Goals: (AU) | (AN) | (AW) | (AC) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **I. Approaches assuming some prerequisite commitment to change or level of consciousness** | | | | | |
| **A. Consciousness Raising Groups** | | | | | |
| Stein | M | AU | AN | AW | AC |
| Wong | M | AU | AN | | |
| Farrel | M | AU | AN | | |
| Creane | M | AU | AN | AW | AC |
| Bradley et al. | M | AU | AN | AW | |
| Snodgrass | M | AU | | AW | AC |
| Hornacek | M | AU | | AW | AC |
| **B. Personal Development Workshops** | | | | | |
| Vittitow | M | AU | AN | | |
| Overton | M | AU | AN | | |
| Verser | M | | AN | | |
| Rypma | M | AU | AN | | |
| Sabo | M | | AN | | |
| Dosser | M | | AN | | |
| **II. Approaches assuming no prerequisite commitment or consciousness** | | | | | |
| **A. Courses on Sex Roles** | | | | | |
| Washington | M | AU | AN | | |
| Lamm | M&W | AU | | AW | |
| Fein & Rowe | M&W | AU | | AW | |
| Ferradino | M&W | AU | | AW | |
| Moreland | M&W | AU | AN | | |
| Snodgrass & Baker | M&W | AU | | AW | |
| **B. Structured Experiences on Sex Roles** | | | | | |
| Hall | M&W | AU | AN | | |
| Nelson & Segrist | M | AU | AN | | |
| Spark | M&W | AU | AN | AW | |
| Guidette | M&W | AU | AN | | |
| Levine & Phillips | M&W | AU | AN | AW | AC |
| Sargeant | M&W | AU | AN | | |
| Schneidiwind | M&W | AU | AN | AW | AC |
| Thompson | M&W | AU | AN | | |

(AU) = Autonomy (AW) = Awareness (Socio/Political)
(AN) = Androgyny (AC) = Activism (Anti-Sexist)

any professional or institutional setting. The few descriptions of this approach which have appeared (Farrel, 1973, 1974; Stein, 1983; Creane, 1981; Wong, 1978; Bradley et al., 1971) do, however, share many similarities in structure, process, and goals. The groups are, generally speaking, non-hierarchical, peer-oriented, and relatively unstructured. The suggested process involves group discussion of various topics relating to men's experience with the male role, with time for each member to speak on the topic, time to draw general conclusions from the personal sharing, and some form of interpersonal processing; that is, discussion of the way in which the men are interacting in the group.

The assumption underlying this basic approach is that, as in women's CR groups, through sharing personal experiences, the men involved will discover common problems, gain awareness about the roots of the problems, and together discover or invent solutions to those problems. A general goal which all such groups share is to give men an opportunity to explore together the effects of the male gender role, and an opportunity to develop and experiment with alternative ways of being men. The groups are designed for men who are dissatisfied in some way with the male role and want to undertake this kind of exploration and experimentation.

Beyond these very basic similarities in structure and goals, the several descriptions of men's CR groups that

have been published do vary among themselves as to the extent to which they stress helping men become fuller, healthier human beings (the liberated/androgynous man), versus or in addition to helping them to confront their own oppression of women and take action to work against male privilege and institutional sexism (the anti-sexist man). These differences in goals are reflected in variations in the structure and process of the groups.

One of the earliest discussions of the process of a men's consciousness raising group appeared in a collection of essays entitled, Unbecoming Men (Bradley et al., 1971). These essays were written by the members of such a group who were working, as the title of the book suggests, to "unbecome" the kind of men they'd been socialized to be. Before the group formed, they had, in their words, "all been confronting our own sexism," but the goal of the group would instead be "dealing with our limitations as men, particularly our ability to relate to each other on a more than superficial level." Overcoming the personal limitations of the male role and improving their relationships with other men were, therefore, very clearly the stated goals of the group.

Warren Farrel (1973, 1974), writing in Ms. magazine and in his book, The Liberated Man, described a similar but slightly different men's consciousness raising process. In

his terms, the goals were to "develop each other's awareness of alternative ways of overcoming the limitations on our lives that have evolved from our views of ourselves as masculine," making it possible to "create more equal and satisfying relationships with women." (1984, p. 271) This sort of CR group would thus aim to help men become liberated from sex role constraints in order to become fuller people and have better relationships with women, as opposed to Bradley et al.'s stress on the man-man interpersonal context.

Wong (1979) describes what he calls men's self-help groups, with the general goals of "expanding masculinity," widening the "range of emotions and behaviors available" to men, helping them "toward more healthy, productive, and satisfying ways of being," and helping them learn new ways of relating to men.

These three variations of the consciousness raising group for men thus share an emphasis on helping men to overcome the dysfunctional effects of traditional masculinity, fostering personal change and improved interpersonal relationships. In terms of the four new male qualities described in this study, these approaches emphasize the development of autonomy and androgyny, as indicated on the chart on page 87.

In this emphasis on personal liberation and personal change, to the neglect of an emphasis on social change and working against women's oppression, these approaches are vulnerable to many of the criticisms that have been expressed against men's consciousness raising and the men's movement in general, and subject to the limitations, as discussed above, of androgyny and sex role liberation. In defining the goal in terms of the expansion of masculinity and liberation from traditional sex roles, this approach, as many critics have pointed out (Tolson, 1978; Lewis, 1981; Snodgrass, 1976, 1977, 1979; Hornacek, 1977), ignores the political dimension of the issue in two significant ways. (1) It ignores the potential external blocks to such liberation--the factors in the economic, cultural, and political environment which must be overcome in order to make such change a real possibility; and (2) it equates men's oppression with women's oppression (for example, Wong [1978, p. 49] states: "men have as much to gain as women from changing sex roles"), and as a result obscures male dominance, male power, and the resulting institutionalized sexism and victimization of women.

As Snodgrass points out (1979, p. 271), this movement, [the men's movement] which exists "among the least oppressed element of the society" could, with its emphasis only on the "personally therapeutic," serve simply to help men feel

a little fuller, more alive, and better about themselves without really changing their understanding or activism in regard to women's oppression. The groups could, in that sense, simply serve to "alleviate the discomfitures of dominance," (Schein, 1977) and, as many have warned, (Hanisch, 1975; Stoltenberg, 1977; Hurnacer, 1977; Snodgrass, 1976, 1977, 1979; Tolson, 1978) simply reinforce sexism by making it appear that these male sex role changes are the solution to the problem.

There do, however, appear to be some male consciousness raising groups which attempt to avoid some, or all, of these dangers. As indicated on the chart (p. 87), at least two such groups do address themselves to all four of the new male qualities as goals. Stein (1983), in describing and defining men's CR groups, lists as goals not only "greater flexibility and freedom in expressing the male role" and "greater satisfaction in interpersonal relationships" (Stein, p. 29), but also a change in one's relationship to social institutions and a recognition of the need for social as well as personal change. Stein thus adds an emphasis on social/political awareness and social activism to the goals of autonomy and androgyny. Similarly, James Creane (1981, p. 254), in his article, "Consciousness Raising Groups for Men," describes such groups as involved, much like women's CR groups, in the "use of direct

experience to discover common problems and common solutions --individual, social, and political--for the experience of being a man." He emphasizes the need for men to recognize that there can be no purely personal solutions to these issues, but that there's a need for social and political changes as well.

While Stein and Creane do recognize a need for social/political awareness, activism, and change, their focus is still, however, on changes that will allow men to break through sex role barriers and live fuller, healthier lives. Issues of male privilege, women's oppression, and anti-sexist activism are not addressed.

The structure and process recommended by Stein and Creane for the groups they describe are essentially the same as those of the groups described by Farrel and others. Reacting to what they perceive as the dangers of this form of consciousness raising, some men (Schein, 1977; Snodgrass, 1979B; Hornacek, 1977), those with the "anti-sexist man" as the new ideal, have proposed what they have described as a form of explicitly anti-sexist consciousness raising for men. The focus of these groups is not on helping men liberate themselves from the confines of the male gender role, but rather, as Hornacek puts it (p. 124), to "support women's liberation by changing men's male supremacist consciousness and encouraging personal and political action against sexism"; and, in Snodgrass's words

(1976) "to confront and oust our internalized oppressor role [as we] become more fully conscious of women's and homosexuals' oppression." (p. 27)

In order to ensure such an anti-sexist focus, it is suggested (Schein, 1977; Hornacek, 1977) that men entering such groups should already come in with an acceptance of the principles and tenets of the feminist movement, including a recognition of male dominance and a "commitment to bring forth social change by taking personal and political action against sexism." (Hornacek, p. 125) As with the other groups, the basic process suggested is sharing personal experiences so that men can discover the roots of those experiences in socially imposed stereotyping and patterns of behavior. In these anti-sexist groups, the focus of discussion is not on how these roles limit and alienate men themselves, but rather on "how their conscious and unconscious sexist behavior oppresses women." (Hornacek, p. 123) In order to help men explore this internalized sexism and learn new, less oppressive ways of relating, the following strategies are suggested:

-- the presence of "an experienced feminist conscious" person to guide them and help them relate in new ways (Schein, 1977)
-- a time for criticism and self-criticism in which men reflect on their own and others' sexism

-- a clearly structured approach in which speaking time is rotated and shared evenly in order to prevent competition and male dominance. (This is characteristic of many other CR groups, as well.)

Clearly, as opposed to the other forms of men's consciousness raising described above, these anti-sexist approaches are geared to the development of the "anti-sexist man," a man with greater social/political awareness and activism in confronting sexism, and greater autonomy in regard to those aspects of the male role. These groups also include some discussion of learning new ways of relating that are less oppressive to others, but have no emphasis on helping men to become more whole, more self-actualized, more androgynous.

Designed for men who have already developed a belief in feminism and a commitment to anti-sexist action, these approaches leave open the question of how to get men to develop that belief and commitment. They ignore the issue of helping men to discover what is in it for them to change, what they have to gain from fighting sexism and the traditional sex role division. Thus, while the other consciousness raising approaches appear to ignore issues of male dominance and male privilege, and consequently do not

necessarily help men to fight sexism and become less oppressive of women, these approaches ignore the development of personal autonomy and androgyny.

Consequently, neither group of approaches is adequate in and of itself. One set of approaches has no way of helping men to see how they are limited by sex roles and that they have a stake in ending those roles and the institutionalized sexism that supports them; and the other set of approaches has no way of ensuring that men will do anything to deal with issues of personal and institutional privilege and domination. A more complete approach, some synthesis of the two, seems to be needed.

b) Personal Development Workshops

In addition to the various sorts of consciousness raising groups, the other sub-category of approaches requiring a prior desire to change consists of workshops designed to help men to explore and develop a particular personal quality. Three of the workshops, Verser's (1981) "Connecting by Stroking: Overcoming the Fear of Touching Other Men," Overton's (1921) "On Being a Man: Is Brotherhood Possible?", and Vittitow's (1981) "Self-Awareness and Self-Management," focus in different ways on helping men to develop closer, less competitive, and more intimate relationships with other men. Sabo's (1980) workshop on "Body Awareness Exercises" is aimed at helping men change their

consciousness about their bodies and become more comfortable with their bodies as they are. Dosser's "expressiveness training" (1983) aims, through a combination of assertion training and communication skills training, along with open consciousness raising discussion, to help men become more skillful and competent in expressing their feelings and thoughts. Rypma's (1981) training project for fathers aims to help men become more comfortable with and confident about the tasks of fathering, through a lecture-discussion about men's biological propensity to take an active parenting role.

All of these workshops are led by a facilitator, and all, with the exception of Rypma's, consist of (1) a series of structured experiences, ranging from role-playing to massage, depending on the topic; (b) various forms of behavioral rehearsal--trying on new behaviors; along with (c) sharing personal experiences and feelings about the issue, similar to that done in the CR groups, in order to help men understand the impact of male socialization and sex role stereotypes on their behavior. As indicated on the chart, these workshops, limited and specific in goals as they are, are devoted to helping men become, in particular ways, more "autonomous" and more "androgynous."

2) Approaches with No Prerequisite Levels of Awareness and Commitment

a) Courses on Sex Roles

Several college-level courses on sex roles, or specifically on masculinity, have been described in the literature. These courses represent, in some respects, an adaptation of the consciousness raising approach to the more structured academic context of the university. There appear to be two sorts of courses offered: (1) didactic courses, and (2) those combining a conceptual and personal focus.

Several of the courses are primarily didactic in nature (Fein, 1975; Lamm, 1976; Ferandino, 1975), involving a theoretical, conceptual, and empirical study of sex roles and their effects through a combination of lectures and readings on the subject. The goal of such courses, as indicated on the chart, seems to be to increase students' awareness of the effect of sex roles on men (and sometimes on women as well, depending on the course) and, presumably, through that conceptual awareness, to help students gain more autonomy, more ability to make informed choices about what sex roles they wish to play, and what actions they wish to take in working against or in support of sexism. Whether the courses stress the personal effects of sex roles or the economic and political manifestations of institutional sexism, the goal of these courses remains increasing students' awareness. There is no explicit emphasis on

change and fulfillment, or on generating political activism.

Other courses on sex roles offer more of a combination of a conceptual and personal focus. Those described by Moreland (1976) and by Snodgrass and Baker (1979), for instance, both combine large group presentations of theoretical and empirical information with an opportunity to relate this material to oneself in small same-sex consciousness raising discussion groups.

These two courses differ slightly in their goals however, as indicated on the chart. Moreland's general objective is to help students assess how their personal sex role conceptualizations affect their daily lives, and to help men in particular "expand or refine these conceptions so that they can begin to live in less stereotyped but more personally satisfying ways." (p. 62) Moreland's course is, therefore, consistent with the sex role liberation point of view, stressing the development of autonomy and androgyny, with no mention of male dominance or institutional change. Snodgrass and Baker, while utilizing a similar course design, put more emphasis on helping students analyze the relationship between their experience and institutional sexism. Hence, their primary goal is increased awareness, with no emphasis on androgyny or other personal changes.

b) Structured Experiences on Sex Roles

The other adaptation of consciousness raising which assumes no prior awareness or commitment to change is found in those approaches which attempt to raise consciousness through the extensive use of structured group activities. Structured group activities, as opposed to free-form or didactic discussion, are exercises which offer organized ways for an individual to examine his or her beliefs, attitudes, and behavior (in this case, in regard to sex roles and sexism)(Widick and Cowan, 1977). Like the other courses on sex roles, these approaches are directed by a facilitator and involve, in addition to the structured activities, a didactic component consisting of lectures, readings, and films.

The primary goal of these approaches appears to be to help people to examine their sex role attitudes and conceptions and the effect of those attitudes on themselves and others. Some of the approaches (Sargeant, 1977; Nelson and Segrist, 1976) give people an opportunity to develop and try out alternative interpersonal behaviors. Nelson and Segrist, for example, whose approach is the only one in this sub-category designed specifically for men, describe their method of "raising the male consciousness through group experience" by using structured activities such as role plays, fantasies, and guided introspection to examine

their experiences growing up male and their feelings about interacting with others. Their stated goal is to help men to enhance their "choice awareness" and to expand the range of behaviors open to them.

As indicated on chart 1, the goals of this approach are clearly autonomy and androgyny. These goals they share with most of the other approaches in this group, all of which seem to embody a sex role liberation point of view.

Levine and Phillips (1981) and Schneidiwind (1977), however, describe approaches which focus not only on sex role socialization and personal growth, but also on institutional sexism, social change, and personal activism. As such, these approaches go the furthest in combining an emphasis on personal and social change, and are among the only approaches which address to a significant extent all four of the new male qualities. In their heavy use of structured experiences, in combination with didactic presentations, these approaches leave little room, however, for personal and interpersonal processing and behavioral rehearsal, which other approaches utilize to help men develop that other, " feminine" side of their personalities.

## Discussion of the Review

Through this review of the literature on the various approaches to helping men change their awareness, attitudes,

and behaviors in regard to sex roles and sexism, it is clear, as summarized on chart 1 (page 87) that most of these approaches are limited in scope. Many address either men's liberation or women's oppression, either personal change or social change, but rarely both at once. There is no difference in this regard between those approaches which presume a certain awareness and desire to change, and those which do not. Specifically, all of the workshops, and most of the CR groups and courses on sex roles, aim to help men become more autonomous and androgynous, to the neglect of awareness and activism. Others, in particular the didactic courses, emphasize the development of awareness with no direct emphasis on either personal or social change, androgyny or activism. The anti-sexist CR groups aim to develop anti-sexist awareness and activism to the neglect of helping men to overcome what limits them personally in traditional roles.

Even those which do emphasize all four goals to some extent have limitations themselves. The CR groups described by Creane and Stein, for instance, while emphasizing both personal and social change, both androgyny and activism, do so only from the perspective of how sex roles limit men and the need for institutional and social change in order to allow for men's full liberation. The structured activities approaches of Levine and Phillips and Schneidiwind, on the

other hand, while including an emphasis on institutional sexism, women's oppression, and the need for social change, include little or no opportunity for men to explore and experiment with a wide range of personal behavior.

To point out the limitations of all of these approaches is not to imply that all approaches must do everything and that there is no place for approaches with specific, directed aims. To the contrary, men with particular needs and gaps in their consciousness and awareness may want and need to pursue educational experiences with such specific goals. It is important, however, that approaches which describe themselves as men's consciousness raising experiences, or as courses on sex roles and sexism, be scrutinized in regard to how fully they confront all aspects of the problem, and it appears from this review that none of the existing approaches do so.

The underlying reason for this limitation appears to be that none of the approaches fully takes into account both central aspects of men's identity and consciousness in regard to this issue: (1) male sex role issues--the ways in which men, individually are limited and dehumanized by the traditional male sex role; and (2) women's oppression--the ways in which men, individually and collectively, oppress women--interpersonally, economically, politically, psychologically, and physically. Each approach seems to

emphasize one or the other of these facets, either totally or primarily. Failing to take both these aspects of men's identity and consciousness into account, that men are limited by sex roles and that men oppress women, most of these approaches fail to address themselves to the unique needs of men, as opposed to women, for education and consciousness raising about this issue.

Most of the men's consciousness raising groups, for instance, are, as described above, aimed at helping men explore together their masculinity, to discover common problems in their experience, and to develop and experiment with alternative personal and interpersonal behaviors. Some of the approaches, as mentioned, emphasize the need for social as well as personal change, but none, except the explicitly anti-sexist groups, deals explicitly with issues of women's oppression and with the possible connections and/or contradictions between men's sex role liberation and men's role as oppressors of women.

These men's CR groups are explicitly based on the structure and process used in women's CR groups. In such groups, women explore together their personal experience as women, and in the process discover the ways in which the "personal is political" and their individual problems and experiences are rooted in their socialization as women and in their common experiences of oppression. Through this

sharing, women are thus able to emerge from an oppressed state of consciousness to understand how they have been victimized and to see that their oppression must end if they are to become liberated (Sarachild, 1969, 1981; Allen, 1970; Micossi, 1970; Newton and Walton, 1981).

One of the problems with applying this approach to men, as these groups do, is that, while men can use this process to explore and understand better how their socialization as men affects and limits them, such sharing cannot lead directly to an understanding of male privilege and how men oppress women. For men, a dominant group, the personal is not self-evidently the political. For women, part of the consciousness raising that they must experience is to "become conscious" of their oppression, of what it means to be part of an oppressed group. For men, becoming more conscious of their experience and power in regard to women must involve "becoming conscious" of their role as oppressors, but it is difficult to see how sharing personal experiences and feelings will necessarily facilitate that process. Men's CR groups, therefore, do indeed seem vulnerable to the danger of men pursuing their own growth, development, and fulfillment without necessarily confronting their personal oppression of women, or the ways in which they collectively benefit from the privileges they enjoy. There are more problems with the application to men of the

feminist CR approach; problems which will be explored in another sections of this study, but suffice it to say at this point that CR which does not help men to confront their privilege and their role as oppressors is seriously inadequate.

The anti-sexist CR groups reviewed above do attempt to resolve this problem by focusing on how men can personally and politically support women's liberation, but they appear to do so at the cost of helping men to discover their self-interest and stake in fighting sexism and freeing themselves from the traditional sex role constraints. Without addressing that facet of men's identity as well, it is difficult to see how very many men could be convinced to enter the struggle, and to understand how, in concrete terms, they could begin to change and redefine themselves.

The workshops described in the literature are all, as pointed out above, clearly oriented to male sex role issues and to helping men to develop needed personal qualities. While, as mentioned above, the development of such qualities can help individual men become more supportive of women and less exploitive of women and of other men, and while these workshops do serve a valid though limited function, they do not address male privilege and men's role as oppressors.

Nearly all of the structured experiences and courses on sex roles seem to be developed from the sex role liberation perspective, and seem to assure that men and women have an equal stake in fighting sexism. Thus, these approaches are vulnerable to the same danger confronting most of the CR groups--supporting men's personal growth without confronting women's oppression.

Even those approaches which do take into account some of men's, as opposed to women's, perspectives of this issue do not do so sufficiently. Moreland, for instance, uses same-sex discussion groups to help students explore the personal implications of the material, and even describes separate goals for the male and female groups, but those goals for men have to do with personal growth and learning better communication skills, not with confronting their role as oppressors. While Levine and Phillips and Schneidiwind do address both men's limitations and women's oppression, they lead men and women through the same exercises and experiences, with no opportunity for men to explore the connections and possible contradictions between male "liberation" and women's liberation.

Thus, even those approaches which are designed with men's unique needs in mind are aimed either at helping men confront their own sexism and their role in the oppression of women (anti-sexist CR groups), or at helping them to

develop specific new qualities or competencies (the workshops). The other CR groups, courses, and structured experiences are all either applications to men of approaches developed by and for women, or approaches to increasing awareness about sex roles designed for both men and women which do not sufficiently take into account men's dual status in regard to this issue.

It appears, then, that an approach is needed that takes into account both aspects of men's identity vis-a-vis sexism, and explores the complex interplay between them, helping men to explore to what extent particular aspects of their sex role liberation and re-definition support and/or work against women's liberation. Men have much to gain, it would appear, from ending sexism and from the liberation of both sexes from the traditional sex role constraints, but men also have much to lose in privileges and benefits. It seems that many aspects of men's liberation, such as getting more in touch with feelings, and developing more intimacy with other men, while potentially supporting women's liberation in some ways, can be achieved without men giving up much, if any, privileges and power, and there is the danger. On the other hand, it may be that men have more to gain than to lose through giving up that power and privilege, in the humanization of themselves and their relationships with women, but helping men to reach that

conclusion and work toward it is a more difficult and complex process than helping men to become more expressive, more sensitive, and more personally fulfilled.

## Conclusion

None of the approaches reviewed above adequately addresses the need, as summarized earlier in this paper, for education and consciousness raising experiences for men that can help them to fully re-examine and re-define what it means and what it should mean to be a man. There is a clear need for an approach which recognizes the two facets of men's identities and consciousnesses in regard to this issue: (1) the limitations imposed on men by the traditional male sex role; and (2) women's oppression and men's role as oppressors. Only such an approach would be capable of helping men to develop the four new male qualities described earlier: autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism.

The specifics of such an approach would clearly need to vary with the needs of the particular men involved, and any widely applicable approach would, therefore, need to be flexible and general enough to be geared toward helping men to develop whichever of the four qualities they were lacking. There is a need, therefore, for: (1) a general set

of underlying principles for an adequate consciousness raising program for men; and (2) some theory to help determine how to apply those principles with particular kinds of men. As Skovholt et al. (1978) state in making the case for the need for more work in this area, "good theory is needed to provide the basis for the kinds of interventions that may be developed for men." (p. 2) It is toward fulfilling the need for such theory, and for such an underlying set of principles, that this study is addressed.

# C H A P T E R  I V

## DEVELOPMENT OF A THEORETICAL MODEL FOR A PEDAGOGY FOR MEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING

The review of existing men's consciousness programs in the preceding chapter led to the conclusion that there is a need for: (1) a general set of underlying principles for an adequate consciousness raising program for men; and (2) some theory to help determine how to apply those principles with particular kinds of men. The purpose of this chapter is to develop a theoretical model for men's consciousness raising that begins to address those needs.

The procedure for developing this model has four basic steps. The first two steps involve the development of the teaching principles for such a pedagogy:

1. Issues of how to facilitate the desired changes are explored through a review and analysis of four relevant educational/consciousness raising approaches, including an assessment of their applicability to working with men. The four approaches reviewed are: T-groups, Freire's education for critical consciousness, feminist consciousness raising groups, and anti-oppression education.

2. A model for a men's consciousness raising program is proposed, based on an integration and modification of the learning theories and relevant teaching principles of the four approaches reviewed.

The next two steps involve an exploration of a developmental process-oriented perspective on men's identity development, and its implications for the development and implementation of the pedagogy:

3. That exploration involves a review and analysis of several relevant theories of sex role identity development and male identity development, and the description of an alternative intergrated model.

4. The implications of this developmental perspective are considered as to the adequacy of the teaching process outlined for promoting this kind of development, and the appropriate content and process to be used with men at particular developmental levels.

## Development of a General Set of Teaching Principles

### Review of Four Relevant Educational Approaches

In developing this theoretical model for a pedagogy for men's consciousness raising, it will be useful to begin by considering what some other relevant educational approaches have to offer to helping men become more autonomous, androgynous, aware, and active (as those terms have been defined above). Therefore, four such approaches with objectives related to the development of some or all of the desired qualities have to be studied in order to determine

their potential contributions to the task at hand. Those four approaches are:

1. T-groups
2. Freire's education for critical consciousness
3. Feminist consciousness raising groups
4. Anti-oppression education

Each approach is reviewed in terms of:

- the history of the theory or theorist
- its outcome objectives
- the learning theory upon which it is based
- its teaching principles and sequence of participant objectives
- its potential applicability to men's consciousness raising

## T-Groups

The T-group, or basic human relations training group, can be broadly defined as a small learning group which brings people together for the purpose of learning about themselves, about their impact on others, and about group dynamics and development through the process of analyzing their own behavior as it occurs in the group. (Benne, Bradford, and Gibb, in Cooper 1971) Within that broad definition, such groups vary in the extent to which they concentrate on learnings about the self, interpersonal relationships, groups and organizational processes, or intergroup conflict resolution.

The typical group consists of 8-15 members who meet together over an extended period of time (some for an intensive week long session, some in a series of weekend sessions, some for a few hours per week with one or two longer sessions included). The group leader or leaders, who are referred to as trainers or facilitators, after announcing to group members their basic task of learning from their interactions in the group, typically recede from directing the structure of the group and leave it to group members to determine how they will interact. From that point on, the role of the trainer is to help the group learn from its interactions in the here and now by modelling appropriate levels of self-disclosure and interpersonal feedback, and by offering suggestions and interpretations to the group. The specific trainer interventions will vary with the focus of the group and the facilitative style of the trainer involved.

The fundamental goals or outcome objectives of the basic T-group experience are to enable participants to achieve (1) <u>increased personal autonomy</u> -- greater freedom to choose how they want to respond in their interactions with others -- in order to (2) enhance their <u>interpersonal effectiveness</u>, their ability to function more effectively in face to face situations. The particular learnings and skills involved in increasing that person-person effectiveness will of course

vary with the individual learner.

The T-group as a form of human relations training developed out of the work of social psychologist Kurt Lewin and three of his associates, Kenneth Benne, Leland Bradford, and Ronald Lippit. (Benne et al., 1975, p. 110). After discovering in a 1946 training program (Bennis 1976, p. 25) the powerful learnings that could be generated by helping a group to discuss their own interactive process, Lewin, his associates, and others began gathering together each summer in Bethel, Maine to explore new ways of utilizing the small group to facilitate learning about themselves and group process. Out of those meetings, NTL, the National Training Labs, were formed in 1949 to further develop and implement this form of education. In the 35 years since then, training laboratories have been established all over the United States, university training programs have also been developed, and the T-group approach, in its many forms, has been widely used in the training of government, business, and community leaders.

While in the early years of T-group training, an effort was made, according to Benne (Benne et al., 1975, p. 39) to separate the here and now focus of T-groups from other training goals, such as training in communication skills or organizational developmental, since that time the T-group emphasis on learning through analyzing and processing group interactions has been integrated into many forms of human relations training. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to

separate the T-group itself from the broader "innovative movement in education" (Benne, Bradford, and Gibb 1979, p. vi) out of which it developed.

That broader movement, which has been called "the laboratory method of changing and learning", includes a broad range of approaches for helping people to "diagnose and experiment with their own behavior and social relationships." (Benne, Bradford, and Gibb 1979, p. vii). Underlying this laboratory method of education are a broad set of values, goals, and assumptions about how people learn and change which provide the philosophical and methodological foundations for T-group training as well. This "innovation in education" grew out of the conviction among its founders that in our world of rapid social and technological change, it was necessary to develop ways to help individuals to "correct dysfunctional effects of early socialization" (Benne 1975a, p. 36) and learn how to be more effective in reconstructing the social environment. In Benne's words: "In a rapidly changing society, people must assume greater responsibility for consciously and selectively directing the process of their own socialization." (1975a, p. 37) In so doing, it was hoped that individuals could not only enhance their own personal effectiveness in one-one and group situations, but also learn how to create and work in groups which were conducive to the personal growth and development of all

of their members. The T-group is one approach that has been developed to help people work toward these goals.

Before looking specifically at how such learning is said to occur in the T-group, it will be useful to examine the basic learning theory -- thoughts about how people learn and change -- upon which T-group methodology is based. The learning theory which describes the process through which people change in T-groups provides a model that can explain and apply as well to many other forms of change and learning in small groups. Many theorists have described the kind of change and learning that goes on in a T-group as a form of re-education and resocialization. (Lewin, 1948; Bennis, 1962; Bennis, 1975; Sargent and Kravetz, 1977; Shepherd, 1970) The question to be considered at this point is: how does the theory explain how that resocialization occurs?

Lewin began to answer that question in his 1945 paper, "Conduct, Knowledge and the Acceptance of New Values" (Lewin & Grabbe, 1945), in which he formulated ten general observations or principles of the re-education process. Those principles are based upon the assumption that effective re-education effects a person in three ways. It changes one's "cognitive structure" -- ideas, facts, beliefs, one's "valances and values", and one's "motoric action" -- behavior. The whole person must be involved in the process.

Three of Lewin's ten principles are particularly relevant to our concern about how people change in such groups. These are:

1. "The re-education process has to fulfill a task that is essentially equivalent to a change in culture."

2. "A change in action-ideology, a real acceptance of a changed set of facts and values, a change in the perceived social world -- all three are but different expressions of the same process."

3. "The individual accepts the new system of values and beliefs by accepting belongingness in a group."

The key assumption or belief behind these principles is that we become people -- learn our characteristic pattern of values, attitudes, and behaviors, through growing into membership in various associations and relationships, from family to school to peer groups. It is through internalizing the norms and beliefs of these groups or cultures, that we become enculturated and socialized. Therefore, it is in becoming part of a new group, based on alternative norms and values, that re-enculturation and re-socialization can occur and we can develop a new set of attitudes and behaviors.

Seeing people not as isolated individuals but as existing, in Lewin's terms, in a social field, or in other terms, as part of a system or systems, it follows that if the field or system changes, the person must change as well.

Since, according to this perspective, social fields and systems have a natural tendency to seek equilibrium, changing the field in a particular way will have a repercussion somewhere else in the field. In other words, if we change a person's field or put them in a new one, they need to reach a new orientation to that field in order to reach a new equilibrium.

Lewin (1951) described this change process as occuring in three phases: unfreezing (disequilibrium), changing (finding a new equilibrium), and refreezing (restabilizing). I will use this model, which has been amplified by many theorists, to try to understand and explain the theory of how in T-groups people change and become resocialized.

Unfreezing can be conceived of as an experience of "being shook up" or shaken out of one's present complacency and equilibrium, an experience which must precede any new learning. With a person's present equilibrium of personal constructs and behaviors upset or altered, they will experience a felt need for change. Schein and Bennis (1965) argue that the unfreezing process must involve a combination of heightened anxiety -- the motivation to change, and reduction of threat -- which allows for an openness to change rather than a defensive rigidity.

In T-groups, people seem to get "shook up" and unfrozen because the group is a new, ambiguous situation in which

there is a confusion about norms and about the expectations of what is appropriate, leading to heightened anxiety. Since trainers refuse to act as discussion leaders, a kind of social vacuum is created which members must fill as they attempt to create a group in which their needs can be met. The removal from normal roles and pre-occupations, along with the ambiguity about structures, goals, and rewards all serve, in Bennis' words, to "de-routinize" the situation. (1976, p. 23) The givens of behavior now become choices. Since their old patterns and models may not work effectively in this setting, people are forced to think about their behavior and to become aware of the ways in which they are choosing to act. Out of the ambiguity of the situation, people need to create order, create norms, create a new community, and in so doing recreate their own identities within it.

What makes it possible for this unfreezing process to lead to change and not to defensive refreezing is the creation of an atmosphere of safety and freedom in which participants feel free to experiment with new behaviors. Trainers can help to create such an atmosphere by modelling caring and unconditional acceptance of others, and by encouraging the feeling that people are mutually engaged in a group learning project in which they can learn by experimenting with their behavior and analyzing together the impact of their behavior on each

other and the group. Also, through modelling appropriate use of self-disclosure and feedback, thus helping group members to collect useful information, trainers can help the group to learn how to learn from its own behavior.

Changing -- Having become "unfrozen" and "destabilized" people change as they attempt to develop new behaviors, attitudes, and ideas which will enable them to re-establish an equilibrium. As they join the attempt to resolve the dilemmas with which the group confronts them, people search for behaviors which will be effective in making the group into the kind of community in which their needs can be met. Often discovering a discrepancy between their back home behaviors and those which seem most effective in the group, people search for more effective behaviors to emulate, behaviors which may be exhibited by other group members, or by the trainers. People will then try out these new behaviors to the extent that they feel safe to do so. Such experimentation is often much safer in the group then outside because of the accepting atmosphere and a reduction in the fear of disapproval and rejection. It is often much easier to try out new behaviors in a group of relative strangers than in an ongoing relationship which may be disrupted or even destroyed by the change.

Refreezing -- Changes which people experiment with in the group will be short-lived unless one goes through the

process of refreezing -- stabilizing and integrating the new behaviors and perspectives into one's personality and life systems. In Lewin's terms, the field must become relatively secure against change. In these terms, it appears that there are really two fields that must reach a new equilibrium, our internal field, composed of our personality, attitudes, and beliefs, and our external field, our social context. Schein and Bennis (1965) provide a framework which breaks down the refreezing process into two such components, the personal and the relational. For personal refreezing to occur, the changes must somehow fit or be consistent with the rest of one's personality and attitude systems. If there is not a good fit, either refreezing will not occur, or another attitude or behavior will have to change in order to accomodate the first change. It is in this internal refreezing process that the introduction of new cognitive frameworks or ways of thinking may help people to make sense of their experience and to refreeze their new behaviors and attitudes into a new consistent framework.

Similarly, relational refreezing, which involves integrating the new patterns into one's significant relationships, will occur only when these significant others in some way confirm or validate the changes. If that confirmation does not occur in at least one supportive environment, it will be very difficult to sustain the new repertoire

of interpersonal competencies and attitudes. In some cases, the new attitudes and behaviors may have to be given up, or one's involvement in some relationships or organizations may have to change or end, or those relationships and organizations may themselves have to change. At any rate, much of the necessary refreezing can not take place in the group itself, but must await one's re-entry into the back home situation. Nonetheless, thinking about and planning for re-entry while still in the group can help to make a successful refreezing process more probable.

Because it is a setting in which cognitive, attitude, and behavioral changes can and do occur, it would appear that the small training (T) group can make possible the necessarily wholistic re-educational process that Lewin and others describe. Before analyzing the applicability of this approach to the goals of this study, it will be useful to extract from the above discussion of how people learn and change in such groups, the basic principles of this model for training and education. In so doing, two aspects of that model will be presented: (1) the structure and leader behaviors, which together comprise the teaching principles of this approach; and (2) the sequence of behavioral and affective objectives for the participants. For the sake of clarity and to make the sequential nature of the approach apparent, the teaching principles and learning objectives will be presented in

CHART 2: MODEL OF T-GROUP EDUCATION

| Teaching Principles (including structure and leader behaviors) | Sequence of Participant Objective (behavioral and affective) |
|---|---|
| **Unfreezing** | |
| 1) Deroutinization--to be achieved through a lack of clear structure or leader direction, leading to ambiguity about tasks and roles. | a) Generate behaviors for analysis and learning. |
| | b) Experience feelings of heightened anxiety. |
| 2) Here and Now Focus--an emphasis on learning from what people are experiencing in the group. | c) Experience feelings of dissonance and disconfirmation in regard to some typical behaviors and attitudes. |
| 3) A supportive climate/atmosphere of safety and freedom--to be established through modelling by the trainers of empathetic listening and other caring responses. | d) Engage in self-disclosure of feelings about the group, self, and others. |
| 4) Norms Encouraging Self-Disclosure and Feedback--in regard to feelings about self and others, to be established through modelling by the trainers, and attempts to elicit that behavior from others. | e) Experience feedback in regard to one's impact on others and on the group process. |
| **Changing** | |
| 5) Norm of Experimentation with New Behavior--to be modelled and encouraged by the trainer. | f) Experiment with new behavior. |
| | g) Continued self-disclosure and feedback. |
| **Refreezing** (may not be planned for in typical T-group, and may need to occur outside the group after it is over) | |
| 6) Opportunity to Plan and Make Application of Learnings to Back Home Situation | h) Continued practice and application of new behaviors. |
| 7) Provide Cognitive Maps--theories, explanations, concepts with which to interpret new experience. | i) Integration of new behaviors and attitudes into personality and attitude structure. |
| 8) Support in Ongoing Relationships and from Organizational/Institutional Context | j) Integration of new patterns of behavior into ongoing relationships and organizational/institutional context. |

outline form for each phase of the learning process -- unfreezing process, changing, and refreezing.

Applicability of T Group Education to Consciousness Raising with Men:

Having outlined the history, learning theory, and basic teaching principles of the T group approach, I am now prepared to consider the question of the applicability of that approach to helping men become more "autonomous, androgynous, active, and aware." In so doing, I will offer some conclusions as to which of the objectives the T group approach is most relevant to, which of the T group teaching principles are most applicable, and possible modifications to make the approach more fully applicable to more of the objectives.

To begin with, it is important to note that the T group was created essentially by and for men to help them increase their sensitivity, self-awareness, and interpersonal competence. As such, it has, in R.M. Kanter's words, "long been viewed as a particularly effective method to help men develop new behavioral repertoires and self-insights counterbalancing the stereotypical tendencies of the male role." (Kanter, 1979, p. 72) Indeed, most of the basic T group principles, such as discussing the processes of group interaction, and engaging in self-disclosure and feedback, run counter to traditional male norms. Where the male role

emphasizes instrumental leadership (a task and power orientation), T group norms and the female role emphasize expression of feelings, support for others, and a process orientation. Kanter outlines the full contrast between male and female role tendencies and T group norms as follows:

Male-Female Role Tendancies in Groups

| Male Stereotypical Role Tendancy | T-Group Norm | Female Stereotypical Role Tendency |
|---|---|---|
| Instrumental leadership task and power orientation | Learn to express feelings | Expressed leadership nurturance and support |
| Analytic reasoning intellectualizing | Learn to pay attention to feelings | Emotional reasoning intuition |
| Generalizing | Learn to speak for yourself | Personalizing |
| Identity based on achievement, how others see self less important | Learn to receive and be influenced by feedback | Identity dependent on feelings of others toward self, status traditionally based on relationships |
| Attention to issues of large systems in a group, remarks impersonal and indirect | Learn to talk personally, directly to others | Attention to small number of others in a group, remarks addressed personally to another |
| Anger and blame externalized, vengeance sought | Learn to take personal responsibility for own behavior | Blame internalized, difficulty expressing anger |
| Physical distance, hostility-violence in crowded conditions | Learn comfort with physical contact | Greater comfort with being touched cooperation under conditions of crowding |
| Fear of failure in the organizational world, get ahead at all costs | Learn to value human concerns | Ambivalence about success in the organizational world, concern with people |
| Aggression, competition | Learn to behave cooperatively | Cooperation, support |
| Exhibit strength, hide weakness | Learn to show vulnerability | Exhibit weakness, hide or repress strength |

(Kantar, 1979)

The T-group is thus inadvertently but in a sense directly designed to help men become more androgynous by helping them to develop more typically "feminine" expressive qualities, and to temper some of their typically "masculine" instrumental ones. In terms of the theory of change discussed above, the behaviors that are disconfirmed, unrewarded, and unfrozen in the T-group are often some typical male ones, such as coolness, competitiveness, toughness, and self-reliance, behaviors which my be rewarded in the traditionally male, patriarchal, competitive culture of our dominant institutions, but are not rewarded in the alternative culture of the T-group. As men search for alternatives to these disconfirmed behaviors, they often learn that the behaviors they lack that are effective in this setting are some typically feminine ones.

This is not to suggest, however, that men tend to reject all of their "masculine" behaviors and take on all "feminine" ones, but that they have an opportunity in the group to develop and experiment with a more balanced repertoire of interpersonal skills. Indeed, in looking to the group for models of alternative behavior, they may notice that it is people who are most androgynous who are the most effective group members. (Bem, 1976; Sargent, 1979, 1980) In Sargent's words:

> The effective group member is typically someone who possesses leadership skills and supportive helping behaviors, who has both masculine independence and feminine nurturing, helping skills, spontaneity and playfulness. (Sargent, 1979, p. 115)

Within the safety of the group, men can begin to try out and practice using the behaviors that they lack, making it possible for them to become more intentional in their behavior, more able to choose how to behave under what circumstances; to become, in the terms used in this study, more autonomous and more androgynous.

The next question to consider is to what extent and under what circumstances the development of a more androgynous set of behaviors, as described above, will also lead to parallel changes in attitude (e.g. the attitude that it is good for men to express feelings, co-operate, support each other etc. . .), as well as to increase awareness of the causes and effects of sexism, and the adoption of more anti-sexist attitudes. In the traditional T-group, with its emphasis on interpersonal effectiveness in the "here and now" experience of the group itself, nothing is done to encourage the development of such awareness. Therein lies the weakness of this personal apolitical T-group approach. However, it appears that the potential for such change does occur in what has been described above as the refreezing phase of the group process, as people attempt to integrate their new behaviors and attitudes into what Schein and Bennis term

their personal and relational systems. On the personal or internal level, if the new behaviors and attitudes conflict with other attitudes about men's proper role and the difference between the sexes, either the old attitudes will have to change or the new behaviors will have to be lost if cognitive consistency and equilibrium are to be restored.

The chance of these behaviors and attitudes being maintained, and leading to further attitude change, will be enhanced, it seems to me, if people are offered a coherent new cognitive framework, such as a feminist analysis, with which they can replace their now dissonant and dysfunctional system of beliefs about appropriate interpersonal behavior. Indeed, adding on to the traditional T-group experience a presentation to participants of a framework for interpreting their new behavior in terms of overcoming the limits of sex role stereotyping, it seems possible both to enhance the prospects for a refreezing of the changes occuring in the group and to use the group experience to stimulate the adoption of a sex role transcendent point of view. Sargent (Sargent, A., 1975, 1977, 1979) and others (Kravetz, D. and Sargent, A., 1977; Kanter, 1979) have described just such an approach to sex role liberation, utilizing the small group as a laboratory in which sex role expectations can be brought into awareness, new behaviors experimented with, and new cognitive maps offered which redefine the meaning

of "gender appropriate" behavior.

It also seems possible to move beyond such sex role transcendence and introduce other new cognitive frameworks that help people to see the connections between sex role stereotyping, on the one hand, and sexism, patriarchy, and women's oppression on the other. Once the unfreezing process begins to take place, more and more contradictions can be pointed out, and an anti-sexist analysis offered which successfully resolves those contradictions. The basic unfreezing which can come through the basic T-group experience can in that sense open the door, or the mind, to a whole series of related attitude changes. Unfortunately, the traditional T-group does not help people to take the next step through the door.

The conclusions that people come to about the need for and nature of the social changes they would like to see, could also be influenced, it seems, by helping them to compare the norms, values, and assumptions of the T-group to those of the competitive, acquisitive, hierarchical institutions outside of it. Such an analysis might help people to develop a critique of those institutions and an awareness of what has to change about them if the kind of human community and androgynous culture developed in the group is to be repeated on the outside. It is through such analysis, as well as through the introduction of the sorts of cognitive

frameworks mentioned above, that the T-group experience can become more than a personal growth experience and lead as well to a critical analysis of society and its sexist, patriarchal institutions. As an "alternative" culture in which traditional norms and expectations are suspended, the T-group can in these ways potentially enable its participants to re-examine institutional norms and processes as well personal behaviors and values.

Applicable principles

To conclude, it seems that the T-group approach in and of itself can potentially help men to become more autonomous and more androgynous. In pursuit of those objectives, the basic T group teaching principles facilitating the process of unfreezing and changing are applicable and necessary. That is:

- deroutinization
- here and now focus
- atmosphere of safety and freedom
- norms of self-disclosure and feedback
- norms of experimentation with new behavior

Beyond that basic T-group experience, it also appears that in the refreezing process there is also the potential to stimulate increases in anti-sexist awareness and activism. The teaching principles involved in that refreezing process, principles not normally utilized in the basic group, can be added:

- provide new cognitive maps (offering a complete analysis of sexism)
- provide opportunities to plan and make outside applications
- support in ongoing relationships and from organizational/institutional context.

The level and extent of awareness and activism that result from such a process would seem to depend on the kinds of cognitive maps offered with which to make sense of the experience. In that sense, the equation E (experience) + C.O. (cognitive organizer) = M (meaning) is a useful one to utilize, for the meaning people derive from the T-group experience will depend in large part on what sorts of cognitive organizers people use as they attempt to make sense of it.

Freire's Education for Critical Consciousness

Paolo Freire is a revolutionary Brazilian educator who developed a method for teaching illiterate peasants how to read, and in the process to transform themselves and their world. In describing the methodology he used in this work (Freire, 1970, 1971, 1973) Freire describes the principles of a general "pedagogy of the oppressed", a pedagogy aimed not only at teaching people how to read and to become literate in the traditional sense of the word, but also at helping people to develop what has been called "social literacy" (Alschuler, 1981) - the ability to join with others in collectively naming, analyzing, and changing the social reality in which they are submerged. In Freire's words, that social literacy develops through what he calls "conscientization - the process through which men, not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness of both the socio-cultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality." (Freire, 1979, p. 27)

The principles of Freire's pedagogy can therefore be applied not only to teaching reading, as Freire did in Brazil before being exiled in 1964, and later in Chile, but to the educational process in general. Freire himself, for instance, later applied his approach to the organization of the educational system of a newly liberated African

country (Freire, 1978), and several American educators (Giroux, 1981; Harmon, 1975; Alshuler, 1980; Shor, 1980) have attempted to apply it in a variety of other contexts, including, for example, organizing community action groups, teaching English in a community college, and helping students, teachers, and administrators in urban schools to collectively solve their "discipline" problems.

Freire's pedagogy is based on his belief in the value of human development and in the right of people to personal and collective self-determination. "Man's vocation", he says [using sexist language] , "is to become more fully human" (1970, p. 4) -- and his pedagogy is fundamentally aimed at helping people to pursue that end. For him, the essential quality of our humanness relates to our ability to become conscious of our own consciousness and to develop our power and ability, in collaboration with others, to rename and recreate the social world in which we live and act. As Alschuler puts it in explaining Freire's position, "the more we consider the world, criticize it, and transform it . . . the more human we are . . . since that is the essential quality of humannness." (p. 93)

Since for Freire the essence of being human is thus related to choice, intentionality, and self-determination, that which denies or limits choice and self-determination he considers to be oppressive and/or dehumanizing. Those

limits can be on both the powers of reflection and thought, through myths, mystification, and false consciousness which we internalize in our minds, thus limiting ourselves; and on our power of action -- through coercion, regulation, violence, and the structure of society.

While, in these terms, the truly oppressed in any society are limited in both of these ways, internally and externally, even the oppressors -- those who objectively benefit from the socio-economic structure, are themselves limited and dehumanized by having to live in a society in which it is difficult to love, to engage in dialogue, to relate to people as equals; a society in which they too internalize rigid and false images of themselves and the oppressed. As Freire puts is, "no one can be authentically human while preventing others from doing so." (1970, p. 42) Full humanization for anyone is therefore possible, according to Freire, only in a context, a society, in which the oppressor/oppressed contradiction is overcome.

A pedagogy aimed at promoting and facilitating people's "vocation of becoming more fully human" must therefore help them to overcome the limitations on their powers of thought and their powers of action, to help them create a world in which such humanization is possible -- a world in which it is easier to love." It is with such goals in mind that Freire developed a pedagogy aimed at helping people to develop their consciousness and ability to create such a

world, an "education for critical consciousness".

With a "critical transforming consciousness", in which people are able to understand the systemic causes of their problems and the underlying structure of society, as the goal of his pedagogy, Freire described two other phases of consciousness which he observed in the people with whom he was working. In the magical-conforming phase people see their situation as either unoppressive and nonproblematic, or as an unchangeable fact of existence. Therefore, they conform to the situation. In the naive-reforming phase people believe that problems are caused by bad individuals, not by faults in the system. They therefore blame other individuals or themselves for the problems they experience. Freire's pedagogy attempts to help people to move from a magical to a naive to a critical phase of consciousness.

While Freire addresses himself primarily to the question of how to help facilitate such changes in people's consciousness, and not with specific action plans and blueprints for social transformation, his methodology for facilitating those changes in consciousness is based on the notion that consciousness and society do not exist apart from each other. He sees instead a dialectical relationship between the two, with our consciousness affecting the kind of society we create and recreate, and with the social structure and our experience within it effecting our

consciousness.

Given this view, Freire believes that people can become unsubmerged from the reality they are in and begin to overcome their oppression through a combination of reflection and action which he calls praxis. Through acting, reflecting, and acting once again, a new consciousness develops as a new social reality is created. Through such a process people realize, in Freire's words, that "We have to make our freedom together with others." (1976, p. 225) -- that we can not, in other words, be self-determining by ourselves; that it is only through collective struggle, not individual adjustment or reform, that real solutions can be found.

Freire's methodology for engaging people in such a struggle and such a process is based on a dialogical relationship between teacher and students who collectively attempt to solve problems. The dialogical nature of that process is based on Freire's belief that the educational process is itself inherently political, contributing either to domination and oppression or to liberation and freedom. The approach he suggests stands in contrast to what he describes as the "banking form of education" in which the knowledge, ideas, and beliefs to be transmitted to students are predetermined, and the role of the teacher is to deposit that knowledge into students' minds. The process of this banking education, with its strictly hierarchical authoritarian

relationship between teachers and students, its concept of what knowledge is, and its delegitimization of students' own culture, ideas, and feelings, contributes to the domination of consciousness and oppression of the students involved, regardless of the content involved in the "banking" transaction.

Dialogic education, in contrast, is based on democratic social relations between teacher and students, and on respect for and faith in what students can potentially be. Through this dialogical process students can realize that knowledge is not something to be handed down from on high, but is something that people can find and create by themselves in their struggle to understand and change their world. Thus, such dialogue can help people to free up their powers of reflection, powers which they can then apply to naming, analyzing and trying to change their world as they struggle to overcome the limitations on their powers of action. It is through that struggle to understand and solve the problems that confront them that people's liberated consciousness can develop into a critical transforming consciousness.

Within such a dialogical relationship it is the role of the teacher or leader to engage students in such a problem-solving process through what Freire calls problem-posing or problematizing education. The role of the leader in that dialogue is not only to listen and facilitate discussion,

but also to actively present his or her view of reality and to help students to examine and to act on their own reality. From the point of view of the leader/facilitator, that methodology can be broken down into five phases: 1) investigation; 2) codifying; 3) problem-posing; 4) dialogue-decoding; 5) action. These steps, which will be explained below, are carried out in the context of a learning group composed of people who have in common some aspect of their social existence.

During the investigation or listening phase, educators study and analyze the life situation of the group, identifying key limit situations -- aspects of the social reality which limit their growth and development. Listening to people tell their own stories and describe their own experience can also serve to affirm their power to name themselves and their reality. The key limit-situations, or themes, are then codified by the facilitators in such a way that they can be posed as problems to be solved, not as unchangeable aspects of reality. In other words, the leaders take what they are told by the people and give it back to them in a way that defines their world as a situation to be transformed, a way that gives people a sense that things could be different and better.

The codifications may, as in basic literacy training of peasants, be in the form of pictures -- pictures, for

example, of a landlord beating a peasant, or in the form of written articles, stories, or films. These codifications attempt to call attention to the why of a situation and to challenge people to act to change it. (e.g. Why do landlords beat peasants? What gives them the right to do it? What would it take to create a situation in which they did not have that right?) These codifications, or problems, must involve contradictions representing the key factors in the oppression reflected in the situations. (e.g. The fact that the landlord owns the land and the peasants must work for him.)

The codifications also must be posed in such a way that they help people envision an alternative to the limit-situation. (e.g. The landlord not having the right to beat the peasants if the peasants owned their own land, either individually or collectively.) In other words, according to Freire, in order to help people emerge from the oppression and domination they experience, we must not only help them to see what is wrong -- or limiting and dehumanizing to them -- about their reality, but we must help them to visualize an alternative as well, as we help them to discover and articulate the utopian negation to their present reality. In then analyzing the constraints between the is and the ought to be, people "raise their consciousness" about what they need to do to get from here to there.

In Freire's words, we must both denounce and announce in order to create hope . . . "denouncing oppressive structures and announcing humanizing ones." (1976, p. 220) In Freire's pedagogy, in a combination of process and content, that announcing can come in part through the affirming, dialogic educational experience itself. As people experience that process, see that people can relate differently, can respect one another and collaborate to solve problems, and as they feel themselves affirmed and fulfilled in so doing, they experience a microcosm of the sort of society that they can go on to struggle to create -- a society with conditions which would make such dialogic communication and democratic problem-solving the norm.

In the process, people can "experience change as a collective endeavor, not just a theoretical possibility." (Whitty, 1976, p. 110) Engaging in such critically conscious thought and action in a dialogical loving community, people are not only working toward a less oppressive and more humanizing society, but they are also experiencing what it might feel like to live in a world in which such dialogue and action were the norms. In that sense, Freire's education for critical consciousness is both the path to liberation and liberation itself. For Freire, it is not simply the new non-oppressive reality which will lead to self-actualization and human fulfillment, but rather the continual process of

of creating and recreating it. For him, it is in engaging in such critically conscious thought and action that we are being most fully human.

Thus, as the codifications are presented, the problems posed, and the alternatives envisioned, the group engages in a process of dialogue through which people "de-code" the codifications in a manner that leads them to a deeper understanding of the causes or roots of the situation, and a realization of their collective power to rename the reality and to act to change it. It is through the collaborative dialogical process of identifying problems, analyzing them, and taking action to solve them, reflecting on that action, and acting again, that people engage in the sort of praxis that is at the heart of Freire's pedagogy, and through which he believes they can develop critical consciousness. As a group engages in such praxis and develops the ability to engage themselves in critically conscious thought and action, the teacher or leader can wither away, allowing the group to lead itself.

Before moving on to discuss what Freire's approach can offer to a pedagogy for men's consciousness raising, it will be useful to draw from the preceding discussion of the philosophy, learning theory, and methodology underlying Freire's approach, the basic educational model, or teaching principles it employs, including the suggested structure,

CHART 3: MODEL OF FREIRE'S EDUCATION FOR CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

| Teaching Principles | Sequence of Participant Objectives (behavioral and affective) |
|---|---|
| **Dialogue** | |
| 1) Demonstrate and create norms of non-judgmental and listening and unconditional acceptance. | a) Feel affirmed and accepted. |
| 2) Share authority and power. | b) Become aware of human power and rights. |
| | c) Become aware of self as a person in the process of becoming. |
| **Problematize** | |
| 3) Investigate life of the people; identify themes and limit situations | d) Become aware of what is dehumanizing in a situation. |
| 4) Abstract situations by codifying them. | e) See the inner structure of reality, the contradictions. |
| 5) Problematize the limit-situations by presenting codifications and posing questions, based on a reality to be produced, directing people's attention to the problem side of a situation, helping them to decode the codification. | f) Envision a different situation. |
| **Action-Praxis** | |
| 6) Dialogue with the group about possible courses of action. | g) Envision alternative routes to that vision. |
| 7) If appropriate, join group in acting to solve the problems. | h) Take action to achieve that vision. |
| 8) Wither away, turning over leadership to the group itself. | i) Reflect on/analyze results and experience of acting. |
| | j) Experience change. |
| | k) Feel hope in the possibility of internal and external change. |

leader behaviors, and sequence of participant objectives. Such a model is presented in the chart on the following page.

## Applicability of Freire's Approach to Consciousness-Raising with Men

In terms of the four desired "new male" qualities outlined earlier in this study -- autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism -- Freire's concept of critical transforming consciousness is clearly analagous to a combination of awareness and activism. However, since men, in terms of gender and the issue of sexism, are among the oppressors and not the oppressed, there is some question as to the extent to which the principles of Freire's "pedagogy of the oppressed" are relevant for doing consciousness raising with members of such a dominant social group. That question will be addressed below through a discussion of which of Freire's principles seem to be most applicable, and what modifications and adjustments in his approach might be necessary in working with men.

In considering the applicability of Freire's pedagogy to the goals of this project, there are really two aspects of that pedagogy to consider: the process, which is based on dialogue, democratic social relations, and praxis; and the content -- what people dialogue and problem-solve about, which is based on the limits they experience to their human

growth and development. The effects of that educational process would appear to be just as applicable to men as to women. The effects of the content are more problematic. An explanation of these conclusions follows.

The process of Freire's pedagogy, which gives people an experience of dialogically, democratically, and collaboratively naming, analyzing, and acting on their social reality, can make two contributions to the development of critical consciousness: 1) It can help people to realize that knowledge and social reality, including social rules and social institutions, are not absolute and given, but are historical creations, which people have the collective power to rename and recreate. 2) It can serve the "announcing" function of giving people an experience in a more fulfilling and affirming social reality, and in so doing giving them a sense of the kind of human relationships and kind of society that they could struggle to create. Since everyone in the society, oppressors as well as oppressed, are socialized to believe that the present social reality is essentially unchangeable; that is is the only and the best one possible; these emancipatory effects of Freire's process can and should be experienced by members of both social groups.

Since the content of Freire's approach is based on the particular limit-situation, or aspects of social reality, which block an individual's or group's ability to be

self-determining and to fulfill their human potential, the power of Freire's pedagogy to help men to develop critical consciousness (awareness and activism) about the nature of sexism must be based on the extent to which the solutions to that which limits or dehumanizes men in their roles as men are related to the oppression of women. In other words, to what extent must men's liberation from those limitations be based on women's liberation?

The answer to that question is far from clear. As pointed out earlier in this study, there is considerable disagreement on this issue in the literature dealing with this topic. Nonetheless, it seems safe to conclude that some limits which men experience are related to sexism and women's oppression and some are not. Some limits which men often feel and talk about may in fact be caused by women's liberation, as men lose some of their privileges, freedom, and opportunity to pursue their self-actualization which those privileges made possible. On the other hand, those limits which men experience through the constraints of the traditional male sex role <u>can</u>, as discussed earlier in this study, be traced directly to sexism and women's oppression. Furthermore, as Freire himself has pointed out (1970, p. 25) there is the dehumanization which all oppressors experience through being in dominant/subordinate relationships and treating others in dehumanizing ways.

Since some of the limit-situations confronting men as men are much more directly related to women's oppression than others, it would seem to make sense for the Freirian educator to: (a) focus, if possible, on the more directly related limit-situations; (b) be careful about helping men to see the less direct connections in regard to other limit situations by codifying and presenting those limits in appropriate ways; (c) avoid focusing on limit situations whose solutions would require more rather than less oppression of women. A discussion of some specific examples will make these points clearer:

- Those areas in which men feel limited and dehumanized as a direct result of women's oppression involve the difficulty of having equal, authentic, and satisfying relationships between men and women. Since problem-posing and problem-solving around these issues would lead men most directly to see the need to overcome the contradiction between oppressors and oppressed, limits and themes in regard to this issue are probably the most appropriate and most promising to be worked with, and it would make sense to help men to get in touch with and identify the limitations they feel in this area.

- Many other limits which men experience are based on (a) sex roles, which, as described above, involve various prescriptions about the personality traits and social roles men should have; and on (b) problems in relationships

between men and men. On a superficial level, it can often appear that many of these limits can be resolved by a simple "change of heart" or personality, without changing or ending women's oppression. In working with men who are most concerned about these kinds of limits, it is therefore important to help men to identify the connections between those limits and roles, on the other hand, and sexist ideology and the social structure which supports it, on the other; and to focus people's attention on those limits which are more directly related to women's oppression.

- While men are not oppressed as men, many are oppressed as members of other subordinate groups, for example as working class men, gay men, and men of color. It may be useful, if men in a group are really feeling their oppression in these areas, to begin with these generative themes, but then to continue to present codifications or analyses of these limits which can help men to see their connection to sexism and patriarchy.

To conclude, all of the key principles of Freire's approach, as outlined on page 143, do seem very applicable and useful in helping men to develop more awareness and activism if the limit situations focused on are those related to the oppression of women, or if a special effort is made to help men see the connections of other limits to sexism. The most relevant principles (with key provisions or

qualifications in parentheses) are:

- norms for dialogue -- nonjudgemental listening, unconditional acceptance
- identify themes and limit-situations (related to sexism and oppression of women)
- codify limit-situations (showing connection to sexism and oppression of women)
- problematize -- present limits as problems to be solved
- praxis -- plan actions, act, reflect, act . . .

These principles, with their emphasis on the development of awareness and activism, might be used effectively in tandem with those of the T-group, which can help men become more autonomous and androgynous. The question of the compatibility of those two sets of principles and how those approaches might be synthesized will have to wait, however, until after an examination of the other two approaches to be explored, feminist consciousness raising and anti-oppression education.

## Feminist Consciousness Raising Groups

Feminist consciousness raising groups were developed as part of the rebirth of the women's movement during the late 1960's and early 1970's. These groups, which have been loosely defined as "women who meet regularly to discuss their experience as women" (Marchesani, 1982, p. 9), were designed to "help women become aware of their oppression, analyze how the oppression works individually and collectively, and receive support and empowerment to change the situation." (Marchesani, 1982, p. 6) The thousands of groups which have existed during the last decade and a half have functioned as the basic organizational tool of the women's movement (Hole and Levine, 1971), bringing women together and helping them gain perspective and awareness on their experience as women.

The general goals of such groups have been defined more fully as follows:

> To help women become more aware of the culturally defined and accepted female roles and behavior . . .
>
> . . . to develop a critical evaluation of their attitudes, roles, and behaviors that arise from and are perpetuated by sex role stereotyping and sexism.
> . . . to offer a supportive and encouraging atmosphere conducive to the formulation of an alternative world view and the adoption of changed feelings, attitudes, and behaviors.
> . . . to provide other women and oneself with the motivation and support to change . . .
>
> (from Kirsch, 1979)

With goals such as these, women's consciousness raising groups were directly designed to help women become aware of and transcend the limits of sex role stereotypes, and to become aware of and active in opposing institutionalized sexism. In other words, the approach was designed specifically to help people develop the four objectives of this study -- autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism. But the question we must ask is: To what extent is an approach designed to help women to develop these qualities applicable to men?

In order to answer that question, it will be useful, as it was with the other approaches, to explore the assumptions and teaching principles upon which the approach is based. Unlike the other approaches being considered, however, feminist consciousness raising, which was developed and utilized outside of any formal educational institution and academic discipline, does not have a significant body of literature describing its underlying philosophy, methodology, and learning objectives. Since the approach seems to be directly relevant, it will be useful nonetheless to try to abstract its key principles from the limited descriptions that have been published, although the depth of discussion will necessarily not be as full as it was for the other approaches.

The basic structure of these groups, as described in various accounts by participants (Allen, 1979;

Sarachild 1971; Miccosi 1970; Dreifus 1973) and by chroniclers of the women's movement (Hole and Leving 1971) seems to be fairly uniform and well-established. A consciousness raising group generally consists of 6-15 women who meet regularly, usually weekly, to discuss their experience as women. The groups are conducted without a leader, although frequently a woman who has previously been in a consciousness raising group will help to get the group started. Common group norms include allowing each woman to take turns speaking on the topic of the week, encouraging women to speak personally and specifically, and listening supportively and non-judgmentally (although some groups seem to involve more confrontation and challenging (Sarachild 1970). The sorts of topics discussed include, for example, childhood feelings about self and parents, experiences in female socialization, early sexual fantasies and experiences, experiences of discrimination, relationships with men, women, parents, feelings about work, power, marriage, etc. (Marchesani 1982; Dreifus 1973; Allen 1970)

One key assumption behind the process of these groups was articulated by members of the Redstockings collective in New York, who are credited with originating the feminist consciousness raising group (Hole and Levine):

> We always stay in touch with our feelings . . . We assume that our feelings . . . mean something worth analyzing . . . that our feelings are political . . . In our group, let's share out feelings and pool them. Let's let ourselves go and see where our feelings lead us. Our feelings will lead us to ideas and then to action (Sarachild, 1978, p. 78)

Elsewhere, Sarachild (1970, p. 47) outlined the key principles of feminist consciousness raising as follows:

- going to the sources, historic and personal
- going to the people
- going to experience for theory and strategy

The assumption thus seems to be that through sharing personal feelings about their experiences and problems, women will increase their awareness about the roots of those problems. Another woman has explained this process as follows:

> The process of transforming the hidden, individual fears of women into a shared awareness of them as social problems, the release of anger, anxiety -- the struggle of proclaiming the painful and transforming it into the political -- this is consciousness raising. (Mitchell, p. 65)

With this realization can come a new "raised" consciousness about their experience as women, and about the personal and social changes necessary for liberation from the oppression they experience.

A more detailed description of that process was provided by Allen (1970) in Free Space: A Perspective on the Small Group in Women's Liberation, where she describes a four

phase consciousness raising process: opening up, sharing, analyzing, and abstracting. Opening up -- The first crucial phase in that process, which is supposed to be based on an exploration of women's own feelings toward oneself and one's life," (p. 25) opening up to oneself and then to others in the group. Through getting in touch with one's feelings and expressing them in an atmosphere free of ridicule and invalidation, women can begin to learn to trust their own feelings and their own perceptions, and begin to see what they all have in common. Through that process can begin the "feeling of unity with others, of no longer being alone." (p. 25) In the early phases of group life the opening up is usually about "there and then" issues -- feelings regarding one's life and one's past, but as the group develops, the opening up must occur in regard to the "here and now" as well, with participants sharing feelings about their responses to each other. Without such openness, honesty, and self-expression, the learnings occuring in the group would be based on false premises.

Sharing -- As women open up to themselves and others, they begin the process of sharing -- "teaching one another through sharing experiences on a given topic" and then "building a collage of similar experiences from all women present. . . .

> . . . The intention here is to arrive at an understanding of the social condition of women by pooling descriptions of the form oppression has taken in each individual's life. (p. 26)

Through that sharing, women begin to understand that the situations, experiences, and problems they have shared are not unique to them, but common to them all, and that their problems therefore have social/political roots. Through that process, women begin to see that they are not alone, and not inadequate, and can work together.

Analyzing -- After women share their experiences, the next step in the consciousness raising process involves trying to make generalizations based on the raw data generated by the opening up and sharing, and then analyzing the reasons for and causes of the oppression women experience. During this phase, women "attempt to address the questions which come from their problems as women", questions about why their problems exist, how the society functions, and how their problems could be solved. In looking for those answers and explanations, attention shifts from women's subjective experience to a search for the objective facts and factors underlying the experience. During this phase, books, articles and other documentation may be brought in to enhance the group's understanding and analysis.

Abstracting -- Finally, the abstracting phase involves using the analyses developed to discuss and generate abstract

theory "in an attempt to understand the totality of their experience." In that process may develop an analysis of how institutions "fulfill or prevent the fulfillment of human needs, how they work, and how they must be changed." (p. 27) In that process, women "begin to build and to some extent experience a vision of our human potential" based on "what we could be if freed of social oppression." (p. 27) That analysis, and that vision, can lead to action for change.

The task now at hand is to draw from the discussion of assumptions, process, and structure a model of the general teaching principles and participant objectives upon which the approach is based. Such a model follows on the next page.

## Applicability of Feminist Consciousness Raising to Men

This simple consciousness raising process of heightening self and social awareness by sharing personal experiences was first developed by radical women to support their struggle for personal and social transformation, but it has been widely applied by those in other facets of the women's movement (Hole and Levine 1971; Sarachild 1969, 1971) and by those involved in other liberation struggles (Marchesani 1982), including, as we saw in the literature review above, the men's movement. As pointed out in that review, however, there are some assumptions of this approach that appear to make its

Chart 4: Model of Feminist Consciousness Raising Groups

| Teaching Principles (structures and norms) | Sequence of Participant Objectives |
|---|---|
| 1) non-hierarchical group, no leader, members take turns facilitating | Open up about feelings about oneself and one's life, in and out of the group. |
| 2) norms of speaking personally and specifically without interruption or criticism | Share personal experiences and feelings on a given topic. |
| 3) Members take turns sharing personal experiences on a given topic. | Discuss, analyze and recognize social causes of those problems in women's socialization, in cultural norms and beliefs, and in institutionalized sexism. |
| 4) Group makes generalizations about people's experience, analyzing commonalities and themes. | Envision possible solutions to those problems. |
| 5) Group discusses/analyzes causes and possible solutions to people's shared problems. | Identify possible individual and collective actions to work toward those solutions. |
| | Experience feelings of unity with other women, and feelings of personal and collective empowerment. |

applicability to working with an oppressor group somewhat problematic.

The problem is that this approach, along with most other existing consciousness raising programs for men, does not seem to be capable of taking into account and helping people see the connections between both central aspects of men's identity and consciousness in regard to this issue. Specifically, it seems well suited to help men learn about and deal with male sex role issues, the ways in which men are limited and dehumanized by the traditional male sex role, but not to help men learn about and deal with women's oppression, the ways in which men, individually and collectively, oppress women -- interpersonally, psychologically, economically, politically, and physically.

The many men's consciousness raising groups which directly use this approach do seem able, as pointed out in the review above, to use this process of sharing and generalizing from their personal experience to help men to understand better how their socialization as men effects and limits them, and to help men to develop and experiment with alternative personal and interpersonal behaviors. The apparent effectiveness of those approaches makes it appear that the basic consciousness raising principles can be used with men to help them become more autonomous and more androgynous.

It is not clear however, how this process, which was designed to help members of an oppressed group gain awareness of their oppression and develop "class consciousness about their status as members of an oppressed group" (Sarachild 1971, p. 213), could be used to help men develop an awareness in regard to women's oppression and to their roles as members of a dominant, oppressor group. For men, becoming conscious of their experience and power in regard to women must involve becoming "conscious" of their role as oppressors, but it is difficult to see how sharing personal experiences and feelings will necessarily facilitate that process.

On the other hand, the conclusions men draw as to the causes of and solutions to their problems as men will depend to some extent on what problems and limitations they focus on. As pointed out in discussing the application of Freire's approach to men's consciousness raising, some limits which men experience and may discuss are more directly related to women's oppression than others, and some limits may even seem to be caused by increases in women's freedom. While the leader of a Freirian group could help men to see the connections between their liberation and women's liberation, and could steer discussion away from areas in which more rather than less oppression of women seems to be in men's self-interest, in a leaderless consciousness raising group there is no one to play that facilitative role. Hence, the

conclusions men arrive at as to possible solutions to the problems they share as men may be purely personal, and may be political in a male supremacist direction.

The application of basic feminist consciousness raising principles to men could indeed leave such groups vulnerable to the danger of men pursuing their own growth, development, and fulfillment at the expense of women -- or at least without necessarily confronting their personal oppression of women, or the ways in which they collectively benefit from the privileges they enjoy. Through sharing personal experiences, men, unlike women, cannot spontaneously develop more awareness and activism in regard to sexism.

Advocates of specifically anti-sexist consciousness raising groups for men, also discussed above in the literature review, have suggested some additions to and modifications of the basic consciousness raising approach which could alleviate some of these limitations. Recognizing some of the dangers and problems cited above, some men (Schein 1977; Snodgrass 1978; Hornacek 1977) have suggested modifications in both the content and the process of the approach. In terms of content, they suggest that men focus discussion in such groups not only on how their roles limit and alienate them, but also on "how their conscious and unconscious sexist behavior oppresses women." (Hornacek, p. 123) In order to help men explore their internalized

sexism and learn new less oppressive ways of relating, they suggest the following process-oriented strategies:

- the presence of an experienced feminist conscious person to guide them
- a time for criticism and self-criticism in which men reflect on their own and other's sexism, in and out of the group
- a clearly structured approach in which speaking time is rotated and shared evenly in order to prevent competition and male dominance.

By adding these strategies to the feminist consciousness raising principles listed on page 156, it may be possible for men to avoid reinforcing their own and each other's sexist attitudes and behavior patterns, and to experiment with new ways of relating and thinking. These content and process suggestions still do not, however, offer any way of helping men to see the connections between the limitations they experience and the oppression of women. To achieve that objective, it seems necessary, as in the Freirian approach and as I suggested in an addition to the T-group approach, that the "feminist conscious" facilitator, or some other member of the group, present codifications or new cognitive maps which can help people to see the contradictions and the connections. With such an analysis added on to the process suggestions above, and to the sharing and discussion

of the basic consciousness raising group, it seems that feminist consciousness raising can be adapted to help men as well as women to develop more autonomy, androgyny, awareness and activism.

To conclude, the relevant feminist consciousness raising principles, with appropriate modifications and additions (indicated with an *), could be outlined as follows:

- non-hierarchical group
  * with feminist conscious facilitator
  * clearly structured approach in which speaking time is rotated and shared evenly
- norms of speaking personally and specifically with no interruption or criticism
- members take turns sharing personal experiences on a given topic
- group makes generalizations about people's experience, analyzing commonalities and themes
- group discusses/analyzes causes and possible solutions to problems
  * criticism/self-criticism in which men reflect on their own and each other's sexism in and out of the group

Anti-Oppression Education

Anti-oppression education (AOE), as recently described by Weinstein and Bell (1983), involves the application to issues of oppression of teaching principles derived from "two streams of educational thought which emerged in the late 60's and early 70's -- humanistic education and psychological education." (p. 13) From humanistic education, as described by Fantini and Weinstein (1971), Brown (1970), and Lyons (1971), the approach utilizes teaching principles which integrate the cognitive and affective domains and make the personal experiencing of learners and their personal psychological issues the central focus of the educational process. From psychological education, as described, for example, by Sprinthall (1972), Mosher (1971), Alschuler and Ivey (1973), and Kohlberg (1971), it adopts principles and strategies for using the curriculum to promote healthy psychological development. In "blending these two streams into what might be called 'humanistic psychological education'," Weinstein and Bell are able to "attend to specific psychological issues of the learner as they encounter the educational process" and at the same time "utilize a developmental frame of reference for determining outcomes and instructional procedures." (p. 13) In other words, they utilize psychological education principles in creating the macro-educational design, and humanistic education principles in developing specific

teaching strategies.

In applying these principles to teaching about oppression, AOE attempts:

> . . . to have people confront the misconceptions, myths, or prejudices in their own thinking and behavior . . . that lead to and reinforce unequal treatment of certain groups in our society.
> . . . to clarify and communicate the prelevant contradictions in how we say people should be treated in a democratic society and how they are treated: how we as individuals, groups, and systems collude in maintaining such contradictions; in effect, how we maintain oppression.
> . . . to interrupt such maintenance by attempting to change attitudes and behavior so that they are more congruent with our democratic ideals. (p. 1)

In the process, an emphasis is placed not only on the need to change personal behaviors and attitudes, but also on the necessity of reforming the social context.

In working toward these goals, AOE utilizes a combination of structured experiences aimed at stimulating disequilibrium and cognitive dissonance, with the introduction of new cognitive organizers or frames of reference that can resolve the contradictions. As such, the approach, which has only recently been described with the term "anti-oppression education" (Weinstein and Bell, 1983), is similar to the work of other educators seeing the need for individual and social change who have applied various principles of humanistic education and human relations training to oppression issues. See, for example, the work of Katz (1978), Schneidiwind (1975), Sargent (1977), and Carney and

McMahon (1977).

The anti-oppression pedagogy is designed for use with members of all social groups, oppressors as well as oppressed, and in that sense should be applicable to working with men about the issue of sexism. Before drawing any conclusions, however, about which of the "new male" qualities this approach seems capable of promoting, it will be useful, as it was with the other approaches, to first explore the learning theory and teaching principles upon which it is based.

The learning theory upon which AOE is based reflects the belief that the change process involved in reaching the goal of "learning attitudes and behaviors more congruent with our democratic ideals" (p. 1) is analagous to the change process involved in moving to a higher stage of cognitive development, as described in various forms by Piaget (1926), Loevinger (1976), Selman (1980), and Weinstein and Alschuler (1984), all of whom describe stages of development in making sense of experience. That is not to say, however, that the changes promoted by the AOE approach are equivalent to or dependent on cognitive development; only that they involve a similar change process. Therefore, what Weinstein and Bell describe as the cognitive developmental conditions for learning apply to their approach to consciousness raising as well. Those conditions are:

> . . . Growth takes place as a consequence of a dialectical interaction between the organism and the environment.
> . . . Development procedes as a consequence of contradictions which challenge present modes of perception.
> . . . Growth involves exposure to more adequate means of making sense of reality. (p. 8-9)

In providing a context for that interaction, in raising those contradictions, and in providing that exposure, AOE attempts to provide those conditions.

In so doing, AOE attempts to harness the same human drive which supposedly fosters cognitive development as well, that is, the "drive in living systems toward more inclusive and adequate ways to make meaning in the world." That drive is utilized "to promote increased consciousness and just behavior in individuals" as they are exposed to information and experiences which disconfirm their oppressive attitudes, and are offered new more equitable and supposedly more reality based frameworks for making meaning of their experience.

In order to provide a framework for describing the various elements of their approach, Weinstein and Bell adopt Kegan's three phase formulation of how developmental change is experienced and can be facilitated. According to Kegan, that process involves a movement through phases of (1) <u>defending</u>, during which people feel embedded in a present equilibrium and try to fend off or deny stimuli which cause disequilibrium; (2) <u>surrendering</u>, during which one allows the contradictions to enter one's consciousness, bringing on

feelings of anxiety, loss, and disequilibrium; and (3) reintegration, in which a new balance is reached, based on a new way of making meaning of one's experience.

According to Kegan, each of these phases requires a certain kind of facilitating environment: (1) confirmation, which involves "holding on" to someone, giving them the feelings of safety and validation which they can lean on as they allow themselves to experience disequilibrium; (2) contradiction, which presents the individual with disconfirming information and experiences; and (3) continuity, which facilitates staying put or reintegration as it provides an ongoing, stable, consistent system of beliefs and interpersonal relationships.

Weinstein and Bell describe various strategies and principles that can be used in the context of their approach to create each of the facilitating environments, and in so doing facilitate the desired learning and change:

Confirmation: The learning process, as they describe it, must begin with the creation of a "holding" or confirming environment, an environment in which participants experience feelings of safety, trust, and affirmation which will allow them to begin to engage in self-analysis and self-disclosure as they articulate and consciously examine their understanding of the issue. The goal here is to create an environment in which individuals can explore where they currently are on

the issue. Only by accepting people where they are, and helping them to articulate and become conscious of their current position, can such an approach engage people in a process of critically examining that position.

Weinstein and Bell suggest a series of specific strategies that can be utilized to "establish a climate of trust and openness, as well as group norms of dialogue, interaction, and self-disclosure." (p. 23) At a minimum, leaders must "insure that each person is acknowledged, that people feel invited to participate, validated as individuals, and listened to with respect." (p. 28) By modelling such behaviors, leaders can help to set these norms for the group as a whole. Specific activities and suggestions for structuring the environment include posting a clear agenda and objectives, beginning with introductions and expectations, acknowledging feelings that arise in the course of this kind of learning, providing activities early on that require people to interact and share both thoughts and feelings, validating and rewarding personal risk-taking, allowing dialogue to develop and continue, and allowing contradictions and tensions to exist.

While it is especially important to establish a confirming environment at the outset, such an environment and such an atmosphere must be maintained throughout the learning experience if people are going to allow themselves to

experience, confront, and work through the contradictions, loss of self, and self-doubt that the approach in some ways is designed to provoke.

Contradiction: The purpose of the contradicting environment is to facilitate participants' interaction with each other and with new information and perspectives through which they can broaden their knowledge and awareness about the issue, gain experience in taking the perspective of other people and other groups, and as a result, experience feelings of contradiction, dissonance, and disequilibrium. As "the environment gradually shifts from a focus on confirmation to a focus on contradiction", activities are introduced which are "designed to unbalance and challenge people and to explore contradictions in their previous way of thinking about oppression." (p. 28) Weinstein and Bell suggest a general sequence of steps involved in each activity or encounter. These steps include: (1) the introduction of new information or cognitive organizers -- concepts or ideas which give people an organized way to examine the issue; (2) an encounter or structured activity, which might be a role play, guided fantasy, lecture, film, discussion, etc. . . .; (3) processing the activity through personal reflection and analysis; (4) discussion and dialogue around questions, thoughts, and feelings generated by the activity. Depending on the nature of the encounters, which are designed to engage

learners on the affective as well as cognitive levels, participants may recognize contradictions in their previous ways of thinking and/or acting in regard to the issue and also be exposed to different ways of thinking and acting which they find more satisfying. In this contradicting environment then, the crucial change and learning take place.

Continuity: Finally, an environment must be created that can facilitate continuity and reintegration by providing participants with opportunities to synthesize and summarize their learnings and to plan ways of integrating their new awareness and behavior into their daily lives. With such goals in mind, Weinstein and Bell suggest such activities as writing summaries of relevant learning, the creation of support groups, and the development of plans for taking future action outside of the learning group. Through such a process, people are encouraged to make connections between awareness and action, and to become "engaged in an ongoing process of transforming themselves and their social environment." (p. 18)

In addition to the basic strategies described above for structuring the learning environment, AOE is also based on a series of principles in regard to the appropriate sequencing of instructional activities: personal-- institutional, concrete -- abstract, low risk -- high risk, and what? -- so what? -- now what? The personal to institutional sequence refers to each activity as well as to the workshop

or learning experience as a whole, each beginning with "personal content, gradually introducing an institutional focus, and then cycling back to the personal from the perspective of institutionalized forms of oppression and their impact on individual perceptions and behavior." (p. 33) The concrete to abstract sequence "reinforces the personal to institutional sequence and also ground each new learning so that abstractions are firmly connected and rooted in concrete examples." (p. 34) The low risk to high risk sequence provides the obvious function of helping to build trust and safety, introducing people to high risk activities only when they are ready to engage in them. The "what/so what/now what" principle (adapted from the work of Borton (1972)) provides a rational for the logical sequencing of content and course activities. To the extent that this sequence is utilized, decisions about change and action (now what?) will be rooted in a concrete examination (what?) and analysis (so what?) of a given body of information. "What? so what? now what?" are colloquial expressions for what Borton identifies as three basic information-processing functions: (1) the sensing or perceiving function (what?), through which information is gathered; (2) the transforming or conceptualizing function (so what?), through which abstractions are made and patterns of meaning found in the information that has been gathered; (3) the acting function

(now what?), through which decisions are made about how to act on the new information and patterns that have been discovered.

The utilization of such sequencing helps participants to ground their learnings in the concrete, personal experience of their lives, and to build generalizations and conclusions on that base of personal knowledge. In this emphasis on moving from concrete personal experience to generalizations and to institutional/political analysis, these principles are analagous to those of Freire and feminist consciousness raising. Indeed, as shall be discussed in more depth in regard to the applicability of this approach, it may provide a framework that can be used to incorporate all of the other approaches reviewed.

The basic teaching principles (structure and leader behaviors) and sequence of participant objectives of AOE are summarized in the chart on the following page.

Applicability of AOE to Consciousness Raising with Men:

Unlike Freire's education for critical consciousness and feminist consciousness raising, which were both explicitly designed for use with members of oppressed groups; and unlike T-groups, which were not designed with issues of oppression in mind at all, the AOE model described above is designed to be used with members of any social group in

CHART 5: MODEL OF ANTI-OPPRESSION EDUCATION

| Teaching Principles | Sequence of Participant Objectives |
|---|---|
| **Confirmation**<br>1) Sharing of Agenda/Objectives<br>2) Introductions<br>3) Comfortable Setting<br>4) Sharing of Fears/Expectations<br>5) Warm-up/Interaction | a) Feel comfortable and safe<br>b) Articulate and consciously examine one's current understanding of the issue. |
| **Contradiction**<br>1) Leaders Present Advance Organizers, new information, definitions<br>2) Activity (role play, guided fantasy, film, discussion, etc.)<br>3) Personal Processing of Activity, with focus on personal reactions and learnings.<br>4) Discussion/Dialogue--sharing responses, perspectives, etc.<br>5) Synthesis--leaders provide avenues for resolution of contradictions at more "reality-based" levels of thought and action. | a) Stretch and broaden one's scope of knowledge about the issue.<br>b) Experience taking on the perspective of another person and social group culture.<br>c) Experience contradiction re the present way of making meaning about the issue, including feelings of disequilibrium and cognitive dissonance. |
| **Continuity**<br>1) Synthesis<br>2) Wrap-up/Summarizing--by participants and leaders.<br>3) Feedback (i.e., responses to the design of the learning experience, and to each other).<br>4) Support Groups (for use in the workshop setting and after).<br>5) Reading (to provide for continued synthesis).<br>(This model adapted from Weinstein and Bell, 1983.) | a) Resolve the contradictions with the adoption of a new way of making meaning about the issue.<br>b) Become engaged in transforming oneself and one's environment in pro-active ways.<br>Principles for Sequencing:<br>personal--institutional<br>concrete--abstract<br>low-risk--high-risk<br>what--so what--now what |

"raising their consciousness" about oppression issues. In that sense, it is indeed applicable to teaching men about sexism. In the sense that it is a general pedagogy designed for use with anyone about any form of oppression, this approach does not, however, necessarily describe how to work with men around both aspects of their connection to this issue -- the limits of the male role on men, and men's role in the oppression of women.

In terms of the four "new male" qualities discussed in this study -- autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism, it appears that AOE, focusing as it does on anti-oppression education, and not on personal liberation and autonomy, is most suited for working with men in regard to their roles in oppressing women, and in helping them to develop more (socio-political) awareness and (anti-sexist) activism in response. The emphasis in the approach on helping people to develop new ways of making meaning about the issue also suggests an emphasis on conceptual, cognitive, and attitudinal change, not necessarily on the personality change and personal growth involved in the development of increased autonomy and androgyny. The approach suggests ways to help people confront their ideas and behavior in regard to sexism (or any other form of oppression), not their personality and interpersonal behavior.

However, despite the lack of mention of such issues, it appears that generic model of AOE, based on the three phases of confirmation, contradiction, and continuity, could be utilized to stimulate increases in androgynous behavior. If the appropriate sorts of encounters and activities were initiated, those raising contradictions and dissonance in regard to stereotypical male behavior, such changes in interpersonal behavior might result. In fact, it appears that the entire T-group approach, with its emphasis on creating dissonance and contradictions around one's interpersonal behavior in group interaction (not around one's ideas about oppression), could be fit into this framework. Indeed, adding the T-group principle of interpersonal processing, here and now experience, and experimentation with new behavior to the strategies suggested by Weinstein and Bell, could make the AOE approach facilitative of the development of autonomy and androgyny, as well as awareness and activism.

It appears as well that Freirian and feminist consciousness raising, both of which include, using different terms, phases of confirmation, contradiction, and continuity, could also be fit into the AOE framework. The higher level of generality of the AOE model would appear to make such incorporation possible. Various strategies drawn from each approach for creating confirming, contradicting, and

reintegrating environments could be applied in the appropriate phase. Such an application is outlined in Chart 6. What this AOE model offers that supplements the other approaches is both the clarity and generic nature of the design, and specific principles for successfully integrating cognitive, affective, personal and political education.

## A Pedagogy for Men's Consciousness Raising: An Integrated Approach

Having reviewed the four approaches discussed above, having abstracted from them their teaching principles most relevant to men's consciousness raising, and having added to each principle strategies that would make them more effective for that purpose, it should now be possible to integrate and build on those principles to describe the framework of a pedagogy for men's consciousness raising that can address itself to both key aspects of men's gender identity: the limitations on men of the traditional male sex role, and men's oppression of women. Such an integration will make it possible to outline a pedagogy which is theoretically capable of helping men to become "liberated" and "anti-sexist"; to develop more autonomy from the dictates of sex role prescriptions, more androgyny in their personal sexism, and more activism in opposing it. Through an integration of some approaches that promote personal growth

and others that promote political awareness and activism, a pedagogy will be developed that is both personal and political, promoting personal growth and social/political activism.

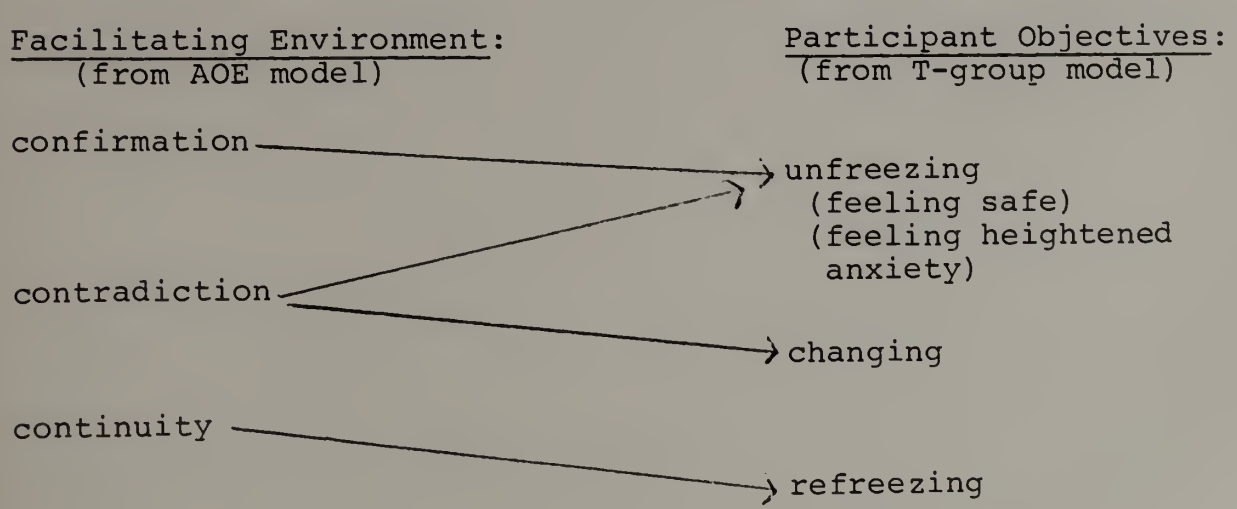
From the T-group approach come principles for helping men to become aware of the limitations of some of their traditional "male" personality traits and to develop a more androgynous repertoire of interpersonal skills. From feminist consciousness raising come principles for helping men to share their experiences as men and in so doing increase their awareness of the effects of male socialization on their attitudes and behaviors, in and out of the group. In increasing their understanding of the roots of these attitudes and behaviors, men can develop more ability to freely and autonomously choose whether or not they wish to follow the script that has been written for them. Freire's education for critical consciousness offers principles which can be used to help men to identify the factors in the social/economic/political environment which limit their growth and development, to see the connection of those limits to the oppression of women, and hence to motivate them to act against personal and institutional sexism. Anti-oppression education offers strategies for helping men to recognize the contradictions between their current attitudes and behaviors, and the democratic principles of equality and social justice. By

increasing men's awareness of the effects of sexism on women and on men themselves, it can help motivate men to take anti-sexist actions.

The models of these four approaches were presented in terms of their (1) teaching principles and (2) participant objectives. In order to present an integrated pedagogical model, some frameworks are needed that can incorporate the key principles and objectives of the four approaches. Such frameworks can be found within the learning theories of two of the approaches themselves. Anti-oppression education offers a broad framework for conceptualizing the consciousness raising process, a framework that is consistent with and incorporates the other approaches. That framework, -- which includes phases of confirmation, contradiction, and continuation, will therefore be used in developing a pedagogical model that integrates all of the approaches. The learning theory that underlies the T-group approach, Lewin's model of unfreezing, changing, and re-freezing, is presented in terms of participant objectives, rather than in terms of factors in the learning environment. That framework will be used to present a model that integrates the participant objectives of all of the approaches.

If these two frameworks are to be used to develop an integrated approach, it must first be made clear that they are themselves compatible and complimentary. At first glance,

it appears that Lewin's model of the T-group learning process -- unfreezing, changing refreezing -- presented in terms of participant objectives, is clearly compatible with the confirmation, contradiction, and continuity phases of AOE, although the process is differentiated in a slightly different way. The unfreezing process, first of all, requires both a feeling of safety -- a reduction of threat leading to an openness to change, which can be produced by a confirming environment, and a feeling of heightened anxiety -- the motivation to become unstuck and to change, which can be produced by the contradicting environment. The changing process itself can also be stimulated by the contradictions that are raised, and the refreezing/reintegrating process can occur in an environment offering continuity. A schematic representation of this relationship follows:



In order to achieve further clarity, however, it will be useful to further differentiate one factor in both the environment and the objectives. As mentioned above, unfreezing must involve a combination of a feeling of safety, and a feeling of heightened anxiety and disequilibrium. Since different kinds of environmental factors or teaching principles elicit those different categories of feelings, it will be useful to subdivide the unfreezing category into two. That change will make the objectives more parallel with the environmental factors, with a confirming environment leading to feelings of safety and confirmation, and a contradicting environment leading to feelings of dissonance and anxiety.

Confirmation ⟶ Feelings of Safety

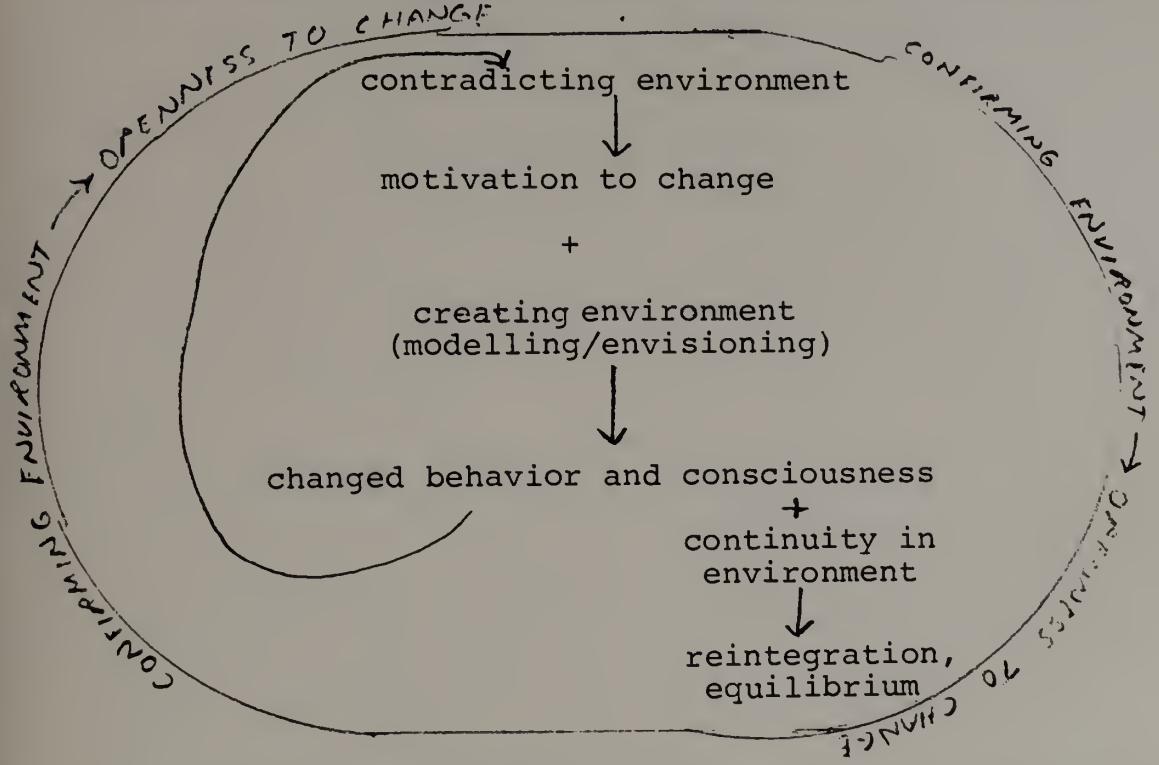
Contradiction ⟶ Feelings of Dissonance and Anxiety

On the other side of the equation, what is described as the contradicting environment really seems to be performing two discrete functions: (1) creating disequilibrium and dissonance in regard to current behaviors and ways of making meaning; and (2) offering means for resolving those contradictions and reaching a new equilibrium. That latter function can be facilitated through the creation of what might be called a creating environment, in which people are exposed to or themselves discover alternative behaviors and ways of thinking about the issue. The cognitive developmental

learning theory from which this framework is adopted itself points out that development or stage movement is facilitated by exposure to higher levels of reasoning or meaning and making. One of the cognitive developmental conditions for learning listed by Weinstein and Bell themselves, for instance, is "exposure to more adequate means of making sense of reality." (p. 7) Once people see the inadequacy of their present system of beliefs and behaviors, they must see or develop alternatives if they are going to change instead of retreat into a defensive rigidity and shut out or deny the disconfirming information or experiences. It therefore seems useful to include the provision or development of such alternatives as a fourth category of facilitating environment. A more differentiated framework would look like this:

| Facilitating environment: | | Participant Objectives: |
|---|---|---|
| confirmation | (unfreezing) → | feeling safe and affirmed (openness to change) |
| contradiction | (unfreezing) → | Anxiety, disequilibrium (in regard to interpersonal behavior and attitudes, consciousness, and action in regard to sexism) |
| creation (of alternative behaviors, cognitive frameworks, and ways of making meaning) | (changing) → | Changed behavior, attitudes, and consciousness |
| continuity | (refreezing) → | Reintegration, equilibrium |

It is important to note that while this model appears to be sequential and closed-ended, the change process is probably more cyclical and open-ended, with all four kinds of facilitating environments existing to some extent at the same time, and with change occuring all of the time. If we picture the change process as occuring within an environment which is always in some ways confirming, a schema of a more cyclical change process might look like this:




To put this schema into words, within a confirming environment, which can lead to an openness to change, a contradicting environment will create the motivation to change, which, if one is aware of alternatives and options,

will lead to change itself. In an environment offering continuity, some of those changes might lead to reintegration and equilibrium, while other changes will themselves lead to new experiences and new information which might lead to new contradictions and the motivation to change, which could, as the cycle continues, lead to more change. Such a cycle of action for change leading to the discovery of new contradictions, leading to more action for change . . . ad infinitum . . . is another way of conceptualizing Freire's concept of "praxis" -- action -- reflection -- action. Once that process begins, it may never really end, since in a world in which individuals and society are constantly changing and being recreated, any permanent sort of reintegration and equilibrium is impossible, although elements of change will constantly be integrated into one's emerging sense of self and plateaus of equilibrium will be reached.

Within this broad framework or schema, it is the application of particular teaching principles in the creation of each sort of facilitating environment that can create conditions conducive to the particular objectives of this pedagogy. The various teaching principles applied in creating the contradicting and creating environments in particular will determine the particular changes to result from the process. It is important to remember that if this pedagogy is to lead to the personality changes involved in

increased androgyny, as well as the changes in attitude, consciousness, and behavior involved in increased awareness and activism, then contradicting and creating must occur in regard to interpersonal behavior and to ways of making meaning about sexism. The model below therefore includes teaching principles drawn from the four approaches reviewed designed to facilitate changes in both those aspects of men's identity, and to help men to see the connections between them.

Following is a full description of the teaching principles to be used in the development of each kind of environment, and the objectives to be achieved. The approaches from which each of these principles are adapted are also indicated with the following abbreviations: T = T-groups, C.R. = feminist consciousness raising; F = Freire; AOE = Anti-Oppression Education. This model is presented in outline form in Chart 6.

1. Development of an Environment Offering Confirmation

All of the approaches reviewed above are premised on the creation of an environment which helps participants to feel safe, supported and confirmed, an environment in which they can "open up" and "share" their personal feelings and experiences in and out of the group, and articulate and examine their current understanding of the issues. The creation of such an environment involves setting norms

regarding the process of communication in the group, and the content of the communication -- which must center on the personal experiencing of the learners. The various means which can be used for setting such a climate can be combined into the following principles:

A. Set norms for creating a non-judgemental dialogical communication process (from T., F., C.R., A.O.E.). These norms can be set by the leader through personal modelling, clearly announced guidelines, and monitoring and enforcement.

B. Set norms which make the personal experiencing of learners the basic content of communication. (from T., F., C.R., A.O.E.) These norms can be set by announcing that people will learn primarily from themselves and each other, not from the leader, and demonstrating and engaging others in the personal sharing of personal experiences from inside and outside the group.

C. Structured experiences which build trust and dialogue (from A.O.E., C.R.). In order to set these norms and develop these qualities in the environment it is often necessary to utilize structured experiences, such as those listed in the A.O.E. model, and the rotated sharing of the feminist c.r. group.

2. Development of an Environment Offering Contradiction

The contradicting environment must function to help participants to experience feelings of anxiety, dissonance, and disequilibrium in regard to both their interpersonal behavior, and their way of making meaning about sexism. The necessary means for facilitating such dissonance are expressed in the following principles:

A. Interpersonal processing of here and now behavior in the group (from T), in regard to its effects on others and the group process, and its relationship to male role socialization.

This processing can be facilitated by focusing attention on such behavior, asking processing questions, setting aside group time for it, and demonstrating and setting norms of self-disclosure and feedback. As personal patterns are identified and related to male socialization, participants can become more and more conscious of how and why they are choosing to behave, and thus increase their power to choose to behave differently.

In a group in which participants are already committed or at least not antagonistic to an anti-sexist position, this processing can also focus on criticism and self-criticism in regard to one's own and others' sexism, in and out of the group.

3. Development of an Environment Offering Creation -- New Models and Visions -- (from T., C.R., and A.O.E.

Once people's attitudes, beliefs, and interpersonal behaviors have become "unfrozen," the next step is to create an environment which offers them the means for change, means which will help them to resolve the contradictions and reach, if only temporarily, a new equilibrium. In order to facilitate that change, the learning environment must offer some idea or vision of what that change might be. Those alternatives, or models for new ways of thinking and behaving, and new forms of social organization can be developed by participants themselves, or presented in some form by the leaders. The principles involved in creating this sort of environment involve either ways of helping participants to develop and articulate their own alternatives, or ways of modelling and presenting alternatives.

A. Modelling alternative interpersonal behaviors -- (from T.) As individuals search for alternatives to what they may discover to be their ineffective repertoire of male stereotyped interpersonal skills, they need to see examples and models of new more effective behaviors. Particularly if such behaviors are not being modelled in the group, it is important for the leaders to do that modelling, which, if they were effective leaders they would be doing anyway.

B. Dialogue/discussion involving the analysis of the causes of the limits men experience, the connection of those limits to sex roles and the oppression of women, and the envisioning of solutions to those limits. (from C.R., F., A.O.E.) Through an appropriate sort of problem-posing and problem-solving process, it may be possible to some extent to help men to discover for themselves new ways of thinking about these issues, and to themselves envision alternatives and solutions.

C. Present alternative cognitive maps/forms of consciousness (from F., A.O.E.) In order to facilitate the discovery process mentioned above, and to help people to sort out and make sense of the other contradictions they are experiencing, it is often helpful to present through lecture or discussion new frames of reference. If these new "maps" do help people to resolve the contradictions they see, they will then appropriate and internalize these maps as their own. The presentation and internatlization of different ways of thinking about sexism and sex roles can also help people internalize into their self-concept the new more expressive behaviors they may be experimenting with.

D. Provide structure for planning actions for personal and social change. (from F., A.O.E.) Once problems have been identified and analyzed, and long range solutions uncovered, the next step is to plan how to get from here

to there. That planning may involve simply thinking about when to try out a new interpersonal behavior, or carefully analyzing a series of action steps to work toward one's vision of a new society. At any level of change, the learning environment must encourage people to think through those actions and envision concrete steps which they can begin to take. That encouragement can range from aksing participants to set personal goals, objectives and, plans for change, to engaging the entire group in creating plans for how to change or facilitate their own interaction, or how to take some political action together. Actions can take place, and be planned for, at a variety of levels.

E. Praxis -- Engaging participants in action to transform themselves and their society. (from A.O.E., F.) Once alternatives have been envisioned and actions planned, the next step is encouraging and supporting people in taking action. Those actions may involve personal change in, for instance, one's level of self-disclosure in the group or way of relating to women friends, or social action such as forming an anti-pornography task force or joining a march against rape. Such actions can be encouraged through such means as setting a group norm of experimenting with new behavior, or asking people to take some action and report back to the group about it. As individuals reflect on that action and its results, their understanding and

awareness continue to increase, and they can go on to plan for and take more action.

4. Development of an Environment Offering Continuity

If the changes in behavior and consciousness which individuals experience are to be integrated into their life outside of and after the learning group, an environment must be created which offers them some means and structure for facilitating that sort of integration on both the cognitive and affective levels.

A. Summarizing and synthesizing. (from C.R., A.O.E.) At various points in the learning process and especially at the end, it is important for participants to summarize and synthesize their learning. Such written and verbal synthesizing can reinforce learnings and help people to gain clarity and perspective.

B. Support groups (from C.R., F., A.O.E.) Support groups in and after the group can provide people with the interpersonal support they need to maintain and nurture their changing selves.

C. Continued praxis (from F.) Action planning, action, reflection -- A full integration of the changes desired necessarily means that people will become engaged in an ongoing process of critical reflection and action to change themselves and their world.

D. Gradual disengagement by the leader. (from F.) As individuals and the group develop more and more of a capacity for critical thinking and action, it is important to gradually "wither away" and turn over more and more leadership functions to the group so that it and the individuals involved can function for and by themselves.

A model outlining the basic principles and objectives of this pedagogy is presented on the following page.

Like the more schematic model of change outlined earlier in this discussion (p. 181), this model for men's consciousness raising may appear to be necessarily sequential and closed-ended. It is therefore necessary to point out once again that the change process is probably never that neat. In fact, all four kinds of facilitating environments may need to be present throughout the learning experience as participants cycle and recycle through the change process in different ways. A course or learning experience may have sequential phases during which confirmation, contradiction, creation, or continuity are most emphasized, but within that overall process, each class session or meeting may in and of itself need to involve the same cycle. This point will become clearer in the application of these principles to a particular learning experience.

In regard to sequencing, it is also important to note that this pedagogy adopts from the anti-oppression approach

## CHART 6: A MODEL OF A PEDAGOGY FOR MEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING

### Learning environment/Teaching Principles

1. Confirmation
   a.) Set norms for creating a non-judgemental dialogical communication process. (T, F, CR, AOE)
   b.) Set norms which make the personal experiencing of learners the basic content of discussion. (T, F, CR, AOE)
   c.) Structure activities which build trust and dialogue and facilitate personal sharing. (F, CR, AOE)

2. Contradiction
   a.) Interpersonal processing of here and now behavior in the group. (T)
   b.) Present new information, definitions, and cognitive organizers re. sex roles and sexism. (AOE)
   c.) Structure activities through which participants encounter contradictions in their present behavior and consciousness. (CR, AOE)
   d.) Problematize - pose limits to men's growth and development as problems to be analyzed and solved. (F)

3. Creation
   a.) Modelling of alternative interpersonal behaviors. (T)
   b.) Dialogue/discussion involving an analysis of the causes of limits and problems, and envisioning of alternatives and solutions. (F, CR, AOE)
   c.) Present alternative cognitive maps.
   d.) Provide structure for planning actions for personal and social change.
   e.) Praxis - engage participants in action to transform themselves and their society, and in reflection on that action.

4. Continuity
   a.) Summarizing and synthesizing. (CR, AOE)
   b.) Support groups. (F, CR, AOE)
   c.) Encourage continued praxis. (F)
   d.) Gradual disengagement by the leader. (F)

### Participant Objectives

1. Unfreezing part 1: Feeling safe and affirmed
   a.) Feel comfortable, safe, affirmed, and accepted.
   b.) Open up and share personal feelings and experiences regarding: (1) the "here and now" experience in the group, and (2) "there and then" experiences in the past and outside of the group relating to masculinity, sex roles, and sexism.

2. Unfreezing part 2: Feeling anxiety/disequilibrium
   a.) Experience feedback re. one's effect on others and the group process.
   b.) Feel heightened anxiety, dissonance, and disequilibrium about some stereotypically male interpersonal behaviors.
   c.) Recognize connections between some of those dissonant behaviors and male socialization.
   d.) Stretch and broaden one's scope of knowledge about sex roles and sexism.
   e.) Recognize some of the dehumanizing effects on self and others of sex roles and sexism.
   f.) Experience feelings of dissonance and disequilibrium regarding one's current way of making meaning about sex roles and sexism.

3. Changing
   a.) Recognize interpersonal effectiveness of a more androgynous range of behavior.
   b.) Recognize some of the socio-economic-political causes of some of the limits that one experiences as a man, and the connection of those limits to sex roles and sexism.
   c.) Recognize or envision alternative personal behaviors and alternative forms of social organization.
   d.) Experience more satisfying and fulfilling ways of being with other men.
   e.) Recognize and adopt a new cognitive map about these issues which resolves the disequilibrium one was experiencing.
   f.) Engage in praxis - action-reflection-action - in trying to change oneself and one's environment, in and out of the group.

4. Refreezing
   a.) Integration of new behaviors and consciousness into relational system.
   b.) Continued praxis.

Educational approaches the principles are derived from:

(T) = T-group

(F) = Freire's Education for Critical Consciousness

(CR) = Feminist Consciousness Raising

(AOE) = Anti-oppression education

principles regarding the appropriate sequencing of instructional activities and areas of focus: personal to institutional, concrete to abstract, low risk to high risk, and "what?, so what?, and now what?" These rules for sequencing must often be applied within each class session or unit, as well as in regard to a course as a whole. With the learning experience cycling through these sequences as well as those outlined above, an appropriate metaphor for this pedagogy may be a spiral in which individuals keep on recycling through the same steps or phases at different levels, as opposed to a ladder which one climbs from top to bottom one step at a time.

The principles for men's consciousness raising outlined above are designed to create a learning experience which can help men to become more autonomous, androgynous, active and aware. The pedagogy is presented in general terms in order to allow for the flexibility necessary to gear the application of the principles to the needs of the particular learners involved. The following discussion of men's identity development should help to provide some guidelines for what kinds of activities, themes, and content to utilize and explore with particular kinds of men. Only in the process of applying these principles to a particular learning experience with a particular group of men can this pedagogy be described in more specific terms than it is above.

## Developmental Perspective: The Sequence and Process of Change

The integrated model for men's consciousness raising described above includes principles for helping men to develop all four of the "new male" qualities defined. But the model, in and of itself, does not offer any guidelines as to what principles, what objectives, and what content of study are appropriate with what people at what point in time. This section is devoted to exploring what a developmental process-oriented perspective and some theories of identity development can offer to the task of developing such guidelines.

The four essential qualities of a new male that are outlined above -- autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism, represent a composite of what advocates of various forms of new male consciousness are proposing. As such, they represent an alternative way of being male that varies from the traditional one. In trying to understand how men might change from this traditional male consciousness and identity to the new one, it is important to note that there are some men who possess various forms of these "new male" qualities that lie in between what have been described here as the old and the new masculinity. It seems desirable then to look not just as the two end states, but also at the process of change itself.

If one takes such a process-oriented perspective, it makes sense to see the new male qualities not as a final utopian state but rather as a point along a never-ending process of becoming. (Rebecca, et al., 1976, p. 204). From this developmental process-oriented perspective, traditional masculinity can be seen as one point along a continuum of development, with the new male representing a step further along the line, and with newer still unknown steps to follow. It seems possible and desirable then to conceptualize change in male identity and consciousness from the traditional to the new male not as a sudden transformation from one extreme to the other, but as a process of gradual transformation with several points, levels, or stages along the way and beyond.

Such a process conception of male identity development, if it could be developed, would be very useful in articulating interim steps and goals for men to work toward, in understanding at what point in a change process particular men may be, and in conceptualizing what motivates men to move from one level or stage to another. Such a model would also be useful in answering such questions as whether or not men need to change in certain ways before other ways; for instance, become anti-sexist before becoming androgynous, or vice versa, or in no set sequence.

Before moving ahead, it is also important to keep in mind that while the focus here will be on various processes

and sequences through which men change from "traditional" to "new" forms of masculinity", there are of course many other changes in identity and consciousness that men might choose in regard to this issue. For instance, some men might go through experiences that lead them to become less autonomous, androgynous, active and aware in regard to sexism and male role norms. The intention here is not to describe all such possible sequences and processes of developmental, but only those relevant to the kinds of changes that the pedagogy aims to promote: greater autonomy from traditional male norms, greater androgyny in interpersonal behavior, greater awareness of the socio-political causes and effects of sexism, and greater activism in opposing sexism.

## Review and Analysis of Relevant Theories of Identity Development

In order to explore these issues and come to some understanding of possible paths of development from the old to the new masculinity, several theories and models of male growth that describe development toward the kinds of new male qualities outlined above will be examined. Those theories that describe such outcomes fit into two categories: (a) the models of sex role identity development, applying to both men and women, that were summarized earlier in this study (pages 58-60) including Block's extrapolation to sex roles of Loevinger's stages of ego development, Pleck's

(1976) three phase model derived from Kohlberg's theory of moral development, and Rebecca, Hefner, and Oleshansky's (1976) development "model of sex role transcendence"; and (b) the models of male identity development that have been suggested or can be extrapolated from related theories: Liddell's "Stages Toward Neo-Masculinity" (1977), Schneidiwind's (1975) application to men and sexism of Edler's (1974) levels of white anti-racist consciousness, and Hardiman's (1982) generic model of social identity development.

These six theories will be compared and contrasted as to how they answer the following questions:

- What sequence of stages do men pass through in moving through the phases of the model?
- What causes the transitions or stage movements?
- Which of the four new male qualities does the theory account for, and in what sequence do those qualities develop?

This comparative analysis will reveal some contradictions between the two sets of theories, and the failure of any one theory to account for the various described sequences of male development. The most significant contradiction is that while according to the male development models, men develop an awareness of sexism and become actively anti-sexist before redefining themselves as personally androgynous, the sex role identity development theories describe the

development of personal redefinition and androgyny with no prior activist stage. Because of this discrepancy, an outline of an alternative model is proposed, a model that integrates the various theories and can account for the varied sequences of development described. The new model is able to account for more of the behavior and phenomenon under study, and should therefore be more useful as a theory in explaining and predicting the process of male development toward the new qualities desired.

The methodology used in generating this modified theory of male identity development, the comparative analysis of various sequences of male development as described in the theories, in the literature, and as observed by this author, is consistent with the methodological framework described by Glaser and Strauss in their book, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (1967). Grounded theory is defined by Glaser and Strauss as theory generated from data as opposed as theory which is arrived at by logical deduction based on a priori assumptions. Grounded theory can therefore be continually modified to explain newly observed or changing phenomenon:

> Our strategy of comparative analysis for generating theory puts a high emphasis on theory as process; that is, theory as an ever-developing entity and not as a perfected model. (p. 32)

The exploratory model to be developed below, which is such a modification of existing theories, is suggested not as the final word on male identity development, but rather for its potential usefulness in explaining various sequences of male development, and in informing the design of educational interventions aimed at facilitating that development. As the model is applied, and more data is gathered, the theory will undoubtedly need to be modified in response. It is through such a dialectic that practice can be informed by theory, and theory can be informed by practice.

## Theories of Sex Role Identity Development

The developmental models suggested by these theories were outlined earlier in this paper in order to explore their conceptions of the highest stage of sex role identity development. a stage they all describe as some form of androgyny or sex role transcendance. As these theories are discussed now, however, the focus will not be on that highest stage, but rather on the process of development toward it.

Jean Humphrey Block (1973) presents, in her words, "a framework that attempts to integrate change in sex role definition with the larger developmental tasks faced by the individual, the tasks of ego and cognitive development." (p. 64) The framework she uses is Loevinger's hierarchical stage model of ego development. In so doing, she hypothesizes a relationship between personal ego maturity and less traditional sex

role definitions; that one aspect of ego development is an increasingly androgynous self-definition. Her extrapolation to sex role development of Loevinger's stages, outlined earlier, is here described in a bit more detail:

| Loevinger's Stage of Ego Development | Block's extrapolation to sex role development |
|---|---|
| I. impulse ridden | - development of a denotative concept of gender identity without internalizing norms for behavior<br>- self-assertion, self-expression, self-interest<br>- unself-conscious and unsocialized expression of sexual and aggressive impulses |
| II. self-protection | - extension of self, self-enhancement<br>- socialization process begins as rules are imposed to counter child's drive for self-expression and autonomy |
| III. conformity | - conformity to external role<br>- development of sex role stereotypes<br>- bifurcation of sex roles: boys are encouraged to control affect, girls to control aggression |
| IV. conscientious | - examination of self as sex role exemplar vis a vis internalized values<br>- behaviors are moderated in accordance with internalized values<br>- costs of totally "masculine" or totally "feminine" behavior are recognized and individuals begin to temper one with the other<br>- sex roles are moderated by notions of responsibility and duty |

| | |
|---|---|
| v. autonomous | - differentiation of sex role<br>- coping with conflicting masculine/feminine aspects of self<br>- as awareness and differentiation of self develops, values predispositions, and behaviors that depart from traditional sex role definitions, these conflicting aspects of self must be integrated<br>- sex role transcendence begins |
| vi. integrated | - achievement of individually defined sex role<br>- integration of masculine and feminine traits and values that reflect aspects of self<br>- androgynous sex role definition |

Block finds support for the path of development she describes in various cross-cultural and longitudinal studies of sex role socialization and feminine and masculine ideals. In these studies, higher levels of Loevinger's ego development and Kohlberg's moral development were found to correlate, particularly in males, with more androgynous self-definitions (Block 1976, p. 75). Block concludes from this correlation not simply that higher levels of ego development make possible sex role transcendence, but in a reverse sense, that higher ego functioning requires both masculine and feminine qualities, and that sex role stereotyped socialization appears to "impede the development of mature ego functioning." (Block, p. 72) Indeed, the relationship could work either way. The existence of such a correlation does not by itself explain which factor is a cause of the other. Block's conclusion, however, implies that if people were allowed to

develop according to their own needs and inclinations, they would naturally become androgynous and autonomous as they developed higher levels of ego functioning.

In that developmental process, the transitions between stages would theoretically be caused by the dialectical process supposedly underlying all forms of cognitive development: an interaction between the developing capacities and needs of the organism and the problems presented by the environment, (Forman & Sigel 1979; Ginsburg & Opper, 1979) leading to the development of more and more complex and effective internal structures for coping with those problems. But since stereotyped and polarized notions of appropriate masculine and feminine behavior allegedly block such a developmental process, the question remains as to how to help men to disengage from these stereotyped roles. Possible answers to that question, and an exploration of the issues involved in trying to encourage such development, will have to wait until all of the theories have been reviewed.

Pleck's model, like Block's, hypothesizes a correlation between sex role identity development and another form of pyschological development, in this case the phases of moral development as described by Lawrence Kohlberg. Pleck suggests three stages of sex role development corresponding to Kohlberg's three basic phases of moral development, the premoral, the conventional, and the post-conventional.

Kohlberg's phases, which he further differentiates into a total of six stages, are, like Loevinger's, organized in a hierarchical supposedly invariable sequence, representing, in his case, more and more complex and functional levels of moral reasoning. Before looking at Pleck's extrapolation of these Kohlbergian stages, it is important to note, once again, that Gilligan and others (1982) have pointed out the male bias in Kohlberg's work and described an alternative sequence of female moral development. Without going into an analysis of the validity of Kohlberg's model and of their critique, it will be safer for our purposes to restrict to men Pleck's model of sex role development.

Pleck's model, and the Kohlbergian phases from which they are derived, can be outlined as follows:

| Kohlberg's Phase of Moral Development | Pleck's Extrapolation to Sex Role Identity Development |
|---|---|
| Premoral: moral thinking dominated by avoiding punishment and gratifying impulses. | Children have amorphous and unorganized sex role concepts, including confusion over their own gender. |
| Conventional Role Conformity: Moral thinking oriented to maintaining the approval of others, especially authorities. | Children learn the "rules" of sex role orientation and are motivated to make others and themselves conform to them. |
| Postconventional: Moral judgments are made on the basis of self-accepted moral principles. | Individuals "transcend" these sex role norms and boundaries, and develop psychological androgyny in accordance with their inner needs and temperaments. |

While Pleck, unlike Block, does not cite any particular research in support of his hypothesis, he asserts that his model is "more in accord with the observed peaking of sextyped interests and traits in adolescence." (p. 173) While prior sex role development models stopped with the acquisition of sex-typed identies during adolescence, he claims that his theory, along with Block's, can better account for adult development and a decreased emphasis on sex typing as people grow older.

As far as the factors underlying stage transition are concerned, Pleck goes beyond the process that according to Kohlberg's model can lead to moral development, a process involving an interplay between developing cognitive capacities, confrontation with moral dilemmas, and exposure to higher levels of moral reasoning. He hypothesizes in addition the existence of a sex role symbol learning process analagous to that involved in language acquisition. According to this model, people conceptualize sex roles as "an organized, structured, configuration of behaviors" (p. 175) -- a configuration that is permeable to new input and can slowly evolve over time. Therefore, as new contradictory input from both the individual and society are taken in, new cognitive structures evolve to account for them. Transition from conventional role conformity to postconventional sex role transcendence would therefore seem to require both an

accumulation of new input not adequately explained by the sex role paradigm, and exposure to a new model or cognitive structure based on androgyny and the integration of the masculine and faminine.

Rebecca, Hefner, and Oleshansky (1976; see also Hefner et al. 1975) while not explicitly basing their model on any other developmental theories, describe three phases of sex role identity development directly analagous to those outlined by Pleck. In their terms, those stages are:

1. undifferentiated: undifferentiated conception of behavior, including sex roles, no awareness of culturally imposed restrictions according to gender.

2. polarized: active acceptance of conventional sex roles and active rejection of the opposite pole.

3. sex role transcendence: assigned gender is irrelevant in one's choice of behaviors, emotional expressions, and life-styles; a full transcendence of the stereotyped sex roles.

Only briefly outlining these phases, they are, in their own words, "more interested in the dynamics of transition between stages". (Hefner, et al., p. 143) In their view, the "dialectics of development" through which these transitions occur is based on conflicts or contradictions that may arise between or within any of the following four planes of development as outlined by Riegel (Hefner et al., p. 145): (a) the inner-biological; (b) the individual-psychological;

(c) the cultural-sociological; (d) the outer physical. From this perspective, the transition from a polarized to an undifferentiated sex role conception might occur, for instance, when individuals experience contradictions between their individual psychological needs (plane B) and strict sex role stereotypes (plane C: cultural-sociological) or when new alternative male norms develop (place C: cultural-sociological) at odds with the way they have been socialized (plane B: individual-psychological).

Since, as Rebecca, Hefner, and Oleshansky point out, there is so much reinforcement in our society for the polarized sex role conception, the contradictions or conflicts one experiences have to be particularly compelling and disturbing if a real stage transition is to occur. Support in the cultural-sociological plane from one's peer group or institutional setting would therefore obviously increase the likelihood that such a change could indeed occur. Thus, it would appear that such a transition could be encouraged by somehow helping to heighten one's perceptions of the contradictions or conflicts that arise from living in the old roles and by providing group and societal support for the new sex role transcendent self-definition.

The three models of sex role identity development reviewed above will now be compared and contrasted as to the sequence of stages and dynamics of transition that they

describe. In terms of stage sequence, all three models, as noted above, describe three basic phases of development: (1) acquisition or learning of traditional roles; (2) conformity to those roles; and (3) post-conformity: androgyny or sex role transcendence. While Pleck's and Rebecca's models are essentially synonymous in this regard, describing just three phases and a direct transition from conformity to postconformity with nothing in between, Block's model is more differentiated, delineating four distinct stages within that key transition. This delineation, with its correlation to ego development, could make her model more useful than the others for understanding and facilitating the transition process.

In regard to what the three models have to say about what causes movement or growth from one stage to another, all three describe that transition process as in some sense dialectical -- involving an interplay between the emerging needs and consciousness of the individual, on the one hand, and the dictates and pressures of the social/cultural/economic context on the other. While Block's and Pleck's models suggest that the development of sex role transcendence may be dependent on achievement of the appropriate levels of ego and moral development, it is also possible that the development of such transcendence may, in a reverse sense, facilitate ego and moral development. While the nature of the interplay

and correlation between these aspects of development is not clear, all three models suggest that at some point it is the experience of contradiction and conflict brought on by trying to live in the traditional roles that can motivate people to want to transcend those roles and resolve those contradictions with a new self-definition that is free of rigid sex role prescriptions.

## Theories of Male Identity Development

While these three models of sex role identity development describe a process that applies to both men and women, there are, as noted above, some other theories that describe or can be adapted to describe a specifically male identity development process. After three such models have been reviewed, they will be compared as a group to the sex role models.

In his article, "Before Androgyny: An Examination of the Stages Toward Neo-Masculinity", Brendan Liddell argues that in order for "an androgynous existence -- which alone will let everyone be whole" (p. 366) to be possible, we must look beyond feminism to what he calls "neo-masculinity". Men, he maintains, must define themselves for themselves, not just accepting "the feminist ultimatum", but going beyond to find a new more authentic Being-of-Self", a more authentic and satisfying way of being masculine:

> Feminists would never describe the feminist experience as a form of relationship with men; it must be rather a women's relationship to her own Being. So with men. (p. 370)

Extrapolating from a process of redefinition that he has observed in feminist women, Liddell suggests a parallel but unique process that men need to go through -- an historical process "which has a describable chronological structure" (p. 366) Both men and women, in his view, go through a process of total loss of their old selves, followed by a feeling of emptiness and nothingness, and finally a period of redefinition. In so doing, women go through stages which he calls non-male, anti-male, and post-male, while changing men move through the parallel stages of non-patriarchy, anti-patriarchy, and post-patriarchy. The characteristics of men at each of the stages can be summarized as follows:

<u>non-patriarchal</u>

- feel that there is something about the traditional male stereotype that is not right.
- try to understand the accusations that men are sexist, and "find the first glimmer of truth . . . that in fact they've been oppressors." (p. 368)
- feel responsible for own patriarchal behaviors and attitudes and feel guilty as a result.
- either feel angry at the system for socializing them this way, or enter a denial phase and fall back into acceptance of the status quo.
- possibly come to a full non-patriarchal recognition and disassociation from what one sees as socially created categories.

post-patriarchal

- a process of creation

- realizing that his identity was based on his "dependency on women" and that he lacks "an identity of his own self:"

> for the first time, he has no answer, no idea, no notion, no image to respond to the question: 'What is a man's being?' (p. 369)

- at this point, will be able to develop a new "authentic Being-of-Self" based on their own individual nature, inclination and feelings, as they come to understand "that the fullness of that "being-of-self" can be gained by merging their averse experience into the common, the androgynous." (p. 371)

Liddell thus describes a process through which men can shed an identity based on dominance and oppression of women, and develop a new "post-patriarchal" sense of what it can mean to be a man. The transitions he describes seem motivated, first of all, by a recognition on the part of men of how they have oppressed and hurt women, which leads to a rejection of that patriarchal self-definition. The loss of identity created by the loss of that self-definition then leads men to create a new sense of self that is not dependent on women, either as people to be dominant over or as people to support in their struggle for liberation, but is based instead on men's sense of their own beings and needs, resulting in a recognition of their natural androgyny.

James Edler, in his Anti-Racism Manual for White Educators (1974), describes five levels of consciousness traversed by "white educators in the process of becoming"

that are very similar in nature to the levels described by Liddell. Such similarities are not surprising, given the possible commonalities, as summarized earlier, in the dynamics of dominance and subordinance underlying all forms of oppression. As members of a dominant group, men and whites therefore may go through a similar process in unlearning their old white and/or male identities and in learning new ones. Apparently sharing the assumption that such commonalities do indeed exist, Schneidiwind (1975) applies Edler's model to men and sexism as follows: (p. 184-190)

1. no awareness of the problem

   - no real awareness of sexism or a vague awareness and refusal to acknowledge it

e.g.- everyone has equal rights in this country
   - there are natural differences between men and women

2. awareness of a "woman's" problem

   - state of female existence is their fault

   - some women get ahead so the rest could if they wanted
   - women like domestic endeavors and choose it themselves
   - opposite characteristics of males
   - women are passive, emotional, dependent
   - the solution -- be more like us

e.g. - women must stop being so soft and emotional if they want to participate in running the society

   - the fact that they're women in Congress shows that they can do it -- most just don't want to

3. male liberalism

- aware of the condition of women and see it not as just their fault
- understand historical causes, unfair legislation, etc.
- a great willingness to "help them"
- fear of the women's movement
- solution -- the democratic process
- don't see that they (males) have been wronged or are in any way responsible for the situation

e.g.
- I just hired a women the other day
- I'm not sexist -- I babysit for my kids twice a week
- If women weren't so aggressive and would co-operate with us sympathetic males . . .

4. new maleness

- see sexism in themselves personally
- anger at being so thoroughly socialized to be sexist
- understand how they benefit from an unjust system
- focus on working with other men

e.g.
- I'm going to form a men's group to deal with the problem of sexism

5. new humanism

- awareness of being victimized by society and action for change
- see many people as victims of the social order in various ways, e.g., -- blacks, poor whites, etc. . . .
- not help people get benefits from the present system, but insure those benefits by changing an unjust system

e.g. - I will work with various people towards greater consciousness of our oppression and work to change the system that oppresses us. (p. 189-190)

Edler's theory, like Liddell's, describes a process through which men gradually increase their awareness of sexism and its effects on women, and redefine themselves in ways that are less and less oppressive to women and more and more supportive of their struggle for liberation. Unlike LIddell's model, however, Edler's contains little mention of any recognition by men of how they themselves are limited by sexism and sex roles, nor of any process of personal redefinition beyond anti-sexism. The transitions between stages, while not specifically addressed in this model itself, seem to be motivated, as Edler describes them, (Edler 1974) by increasing feelings of cognitive dissonance caused by an accumulation of new information and experiences not accounted for by the consciousness of what sexism is and of how to combat it.

Hardiman (1982), building on earlier work by Jackson (1976) presents a generic model of social identity development supposedly relevant to all forms of social group membership, a model that both incorporates and moves beyond those outlined by Edler and Liddell. After reviewing various models of identity development in regard to race and ethnicity, as well as sex roles, Hardiman describes a model

with five common stages:

1. pre-socialization -- no social consciousness
2. acceptance of socialization -- acceptance
3. rejection of socialization -- resistance
4. redefinition
5. internalization

She goes on to apply this model to white identity development in particular, describing in detail the racial consciousness of whites at each level of consciousness. Her generic model can, by definition, be applied to male identity development as well. Relying on the assumption noted earlier about the commonalities between white and male development, I have in what follows adapted the most relevant elements of Hardiman's description of white development to describe the characteristics of men at each level of her model.

Stage 1: No Social Consciousness

- awareness of physical differences but not of social identities and roles
- confusion about what is wrong with one's actions and why others censure those actions
- naturalness of interactions

Transition from stage 1 to stage 2: through various forms of socialization -- i.e., parents, school, peers, media.

Stage 2: Acceptance

- see themselves and other men as normal and superior
- support or allow sexist jokes, comments, or actions
- see women as responsible for their own condition

- anger at women who are too demanding or who don't take advantage of help that is given to them

Transition from stage 2 to stage 3: confusing and painful, takes time; at first those things that contradict the stage 2 world view are ignored or somehow passed off as exceptional, but as more dissonant issues are encountered, through, for example, interactions with other people, social events, or information in books and media, they form a discernible pattern; feelings arise of guilt and embarrassment, anger and disgust.

Stage 3: Resistance

- see themselves as sexist, and as taught to be that way by male peers, family, and institutions
- see sexism as woven into the social fabric of American society, and as not restricted to the practices of a few individuals
- feel concern, compassion and awe toward women; understand their anger at men, and support their need to spearate from men
- confused about their roles and the role of other men in addressing this issue
- feel guilty and angry at themselves, other men and society
- verbally challenge and confront other men on their sexism
- engage in self re-education and introspection
- support the actions of feminist women, and work with them, when asked and when appropriate
- re-eduate themselves about history of women and their struggles

Transition from stage 3 to stage 4: through a need to develop a sense of identity that is consistent with their own needs and values, and to clarify what they as men stand for, not only what they are against; need for new positive feeling about selves as men

Stage 4: Redefinition

- aware of strengths and limitations of male history and culture
- less attention is paid to women, more to men
- see sexism in a holistic sense, not just individual, societal, or cultural

- believes it is in male self-interest to eradicate sexism and works to change male society based on that self-interest
- desires to help other men redefine themselves
- empathy for the difficulties men have at other stages

Transition from stage 4 to stage 5: from need to integrate and incorporate or internalize this new male identity with their total identity: and from need to operationalize this new identity in the broader social environment.

Stage 5: Internalization

- aware of and concerned about other aspects of social identity and other social issues; work to educate selves about other social group memberships and other forms of oppression, and to change aspects of the social environment that are oppressive.
- see unaware men as victims of sexism also, and work to liberate such men from sexism and to transform male society based on new male identity
- recognize that women have strengths to offer to humanity
- work with women on issues of like concern

Hardiman's theory, as applied above, has much in common with the other two. In moving through each of the models from conformity or acceptance to the higher stages, men change from first identifying themselves stereotypically in terms of how they are different from women, to identifying themselves in terms of their resistance and opposition to that definition. This commonality is schematized on the Chart 7, page 219, which indicates among other things, the parallels among the stages of the various models. As is also indicated on the chart, while in Edler's model men stop at that point of resistance, in Hardiman's and Liddell's, men move on in the "redefinitions" and "post-patriarchy" stages to create a new definition of maleness that is based

on what they are for and what they would like to be, not on what they are against. Only in Hardiman's model finally, is the process described through which that new identity is integrated and internalized. Hardiman's generic model thus not only includes all of the states described by the other two but also moves beyond them to offer a fuller description of the development process.

Hardiman's descriptions of the factors underlying transition from one phase to another are also consistent with the explanations of Edler and Liddell. Like those two, she describes the movement from acceptance to resistance as motivated by feelings of dissonance created through an accumulation of experience and information that contradicts and conflicts with the stage two world view; while the next crucial movement from resistance to redefinition she describes in terms, like those used by Liddell, of a need for a sense of identity that is consistent with one's own needs and values, reflecting what one is for, not only what one is against. In terms of all three models then, transition seems to be motivated by a need for cognitive consistency and for a wholly congruent and "authentic" sense of identity.

## Discussion/Suggestions for a New Model

Like these male identity development models, the sex role identity development models previously summarized also describe such dissonance, or the accumulation of

feelings, experiences, and information that contradicts one's present consciousness, as the motivating force behind the change process. These sex role theories also share with the male development models a description of some kind of change from conformity to traditional masculinity to some form of post-conformity or rejection. The specific parallels among stages of the theories are noted in Chart 7 on the next page.

The major differences, on the other hand, between these two sets of theories, are manifested in the particular changes in men and masculinity that they describe. These differences can be made clear by relating the changes in men that these theories describe to the four characteristics of the ideal "new man" developed earlier in this study -- autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism. An indication of which of these qualities are developed by men before or during the various stages of each of the theories would enable us to compare the theories as to the outcomes they describe. Such an indication could also help us to determine what the theories can contribute to our understanding of how and in what sequence the four desired qualities may be developed.

On Chart 7, is such an indication of the new male qualities that men would be developing or already have developed at each of the stages, based on the authors' descriptions. Also indicated, when appropriate, is the

CHART 7

STAGES IN SEX ROLE AND MALE IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW MALE CHARACTERISTICS

| Sex Role Development Theories | | | Male Identity Development Theories | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pleck | Rebecca et.al. | Block | Liddell | Edler/ Schneidiwind | Hardiman |
| Undifferentiated sex role | Undifferentiated sex role | Development of gender identity | | No awareness | Pre-socialization |
| Rigid sex role conformity | Polarized sex role | Conformist (AU) Conscientious | (Patriarchal) non-patriarchal | Awareness of a woman's problem (AW) | Acceptance of socialization |
| Sex role transcendence (AU) (AN) | Sex role transcendence (AU) (AN) | Autonomous (AU) (AN) | non-patriarchal (AU) (AW) Anti-patriarchal (AU) (AW) (AC) | male liberalism New maleness New humanism (AU) (AW) (AC) | Resistance to socialization (AU) (AW) (AC) |
| | | | Post-patriarchal (AU) (AN) (AW) (AC) | | Redefinition (AU) (AN) (AW) (AC) |
| | | Integrated (AU) (AN) | | | Internalization (AU) (AN) (AW) (AC) |

Code for "new male" characteristics: autonomy = (AU) androgyny = (AN) awareness = (AW) activism = (AC)

Quality dominating a stage = (A)

(correlation of sex role development theories to Hardiman is borrowed from Hardiman (1982, p. 240)

quality that dominates the consciousness of an individual at a particular stage. As indicated on the chart, at the highest stage of the three male development theories, men would have acquired the qualities of awareness (of the causes and affects of sexism) and activism (in opposing sexism). In terms of Liddell's and Hardiman's models, they would have become autonomous and androgynous as well. It is important to note that according to these male development models, men develop an awareness of sexism and become actively anti-sexist before redefining themselves as personally androgynous. With their focus on men's identity as members of a dominant social group, on their identity that is, in relation to sexism and the oppression of women, these theories concentrate on how awareness and activism develop, and ses autonomy and androgyny as coming later.

The sex role development theories, on the other hand, describe a process that leads only to autonomy and androgyny. Focusing as they do on psychological liberation from or transcendence of sex roles by both men and women, these theories are not concerned with issues of institutional sexism and social change and therefore do not deal with the development of social/political awareness or of anti-sexist activism. In ignoring these issues, the sex role theories clearly suggest that autonomy and androgyny can and do develop without changes in awareness and activism.

The discrepancy in these two sets of theories as to the sequence in which the various qualities develop leads to the question of whether or not "neo-masculinity", male "redefinition", "sex role liberation", and "androgyny" are possible without a prior stage of anti-sexist awareness and activity. In support of the sex role development theories, and in apparent contradiction to the Liddell, Edler, and Hardiman models, are the many so-called "liberated" and "free" men, who are aware of how the male sex role limits them and are devoted to recapturing their human wholeness by developing the feminine aspects of their personalities, but are unaware and unconcerned with how they and our social institutions oppress women (Goldberg, 1976, 1979; Interrante, 1981). Indeed, as discussed earlier, this "movement" has been criticized as a more sublte form of male supremacy; a way of co-opting the feminist movement.

Does the existence of these kinds of "liberated" men totally disconfirm the male identity development theories, or can the theories be extended to incorporate them? In responding to this question, and in attempting to reconcile a model of male identity development with the existence of such unaware inactive but androgynous men, Hardiman's theory will be used as a starting point and a source of comparison. Her model will be used instead of Edler's or Liddell's because it is the most broad, inclusive, and explanatory, incorporating as it does all of the stages of

the other theories (see Chart 7, p. 219) and describing the eventual development and internalization of all four of the new male qualities.

One possible explanation for this discrepancy between the male identity development theories and the sex role identity development theories as to the sequence in which the various qualities develop lies in the fact that in developing these stage theories a necessary oversimplification is made in describing one's entire consciousness about being white, male, or whatever, as totally congruent and consistent. Hardiman (1982); for example, in her detailed descriptions of stages of white identity development (p. 157), suggests that social identity or consciousness involves thoughts, feelings, and actions in what she identifies as three contexts or domains: the intrapersonal -- the self, the interpersonal -- others of the same race and of different races, and societal -- the social/political environment. Differentiating male identity development in terms of such individual domains of identity will make it possible to account for the variations in men's development, and to provide a conceptual basis for differentiating among men with various combinations of attitudes and behaviors.

In so doing, the first issue that must be considered is what domains of identity to focus on. It would be possible, theoretically, to differentiate a man's identity into an

almost innumerable number of domains, based on all of his social group memberships and contexts of interaction. It is therefore necessary to identify those identity domains most central to the general social identity issue being considered. As mentioned above, Hardiman, in analyzing White identity development, discusses three domains -- intrapersonal, interpersonal, and societal. In examining patterns of male identity development in regard to sex roles and sexism, it seems useful to further differentiate the interpersonal domain into two separate ones, in this case, relationships with men and relationships with women. That differentiation leaves us with four key domains to focus on -- the intrapersonal, the interpersonal with men, the interpersonal with women, and the societal.

What is meant by "societal context", however, needs more clarification and definition. This broad-based term could apply to virtually all domains of identity that go beyond the self and one's interpersonal relationships. The term will be used here to refer to some aspects of men's social identity that relate most directly to issues of sex roles and the oppression of women. More specifically, it will refer to men's identity and consciousness vis a vis:

- institutionalized sexism and its relationships to other forms of oppression.

- class and race, which, along with gender, are key factors underlying the differentiation and oppression of people in our society. This domain therefore includes men's identity as White, Black, Asian or whatever racial identity they might have, and their identity in regard to their role and status in the economic system.

It is important to remember, however, that while the differentiation of men's identity into these four domains may be useful for purposes of analysis, another over-simplification is being made in the process. All of the domains are on some level inter-connected, all manifesting themselves in the others in some way. The self does not exist in a vacuum but in the context of one's interpersonal relationships and one's larger social/political environment. Similarly, those relationships do not exist in a vacuum but in that larger social context. As men's development is discussed in what follows in terms of the various domains, it will be important to keep these inter-connections in mind. Indeed, a growing awareness of those inter-connections is one of the goals of this pedagogy.

Despite these inter-connections between the domains, however, it seems likely that people do not or may not develop or change at the same pace in all four of them. Looking at how men develop at different rates in the various domains may help to explain the disparities in the various change processes the men seem to undergo. From

this perspective, it is possible that some men may go through a process of what Hardiman terms resistance and redefinition in regard, for instance, to their intra-psychic selves (domain A) and relationship with other men (domain B) before looking at their relationship with women (domain C) and at the social/political environment (domain D). Therefore, they may become androgynous in terms of their personality traits and closer to other men before they become aware and active around issues of institutional sexism and the oppression of women. Such a process would be able to account for the developmental sequence described by the sex role development theories.

Other men, perhaps those challenged and attacked as sexist by the women in their lives, may first look at their relationships with women (domain C) and therefore at issues of male dominance, and may become aware and active around issues of women's oppression before looking at what's in it for them. Still others, perhaps those active in the political left, may begin with a re-evaluation of their connection to the social/economic environment (domain D), moving from social/political awareness of the issue and activism around it, to a more personal re-appraisal and more personal change process (domain A).

Men might begin changing then in any of the four domains, beginning a process that may or may not extend into

the others. It seems likely, however, that resistance or redefinition in one domain might lead to an internal pressure to change in the other domains as well. Indeed, in terms of Hardiman's model, it would seem impossible for men to reach a stage of full internalization and integration of a new male identity if their identity had changed only, for instance, in regard to how they relate to other men. Because all of these aspects of one's consciousness are necessarily inter-connected, change in one area would tend to lead to an inconsistency or incongruence between that area and the others, the kind of incongruence that can motivate one to change.

Putting this process into a broader framework for looking at how people change may help to explain it more clearly. In terms of Lewin's widely applied model of "unfreezing, changing, and refreezing" (Lewin 1951), a model that is consistent with the theories being examined here, men may, as indicated above, have their male identities "unfrozen" or shaken up in any of the four domains. (A) the self (B) the relationships with men (C) relationships with women (D) societal. Once men become "unfrozen" and begin to change, it is likely that before they reach a new equilibrium and become "refrozen", that change will extend into the other domains as well.

This kind of ripple effect may occur as men come to

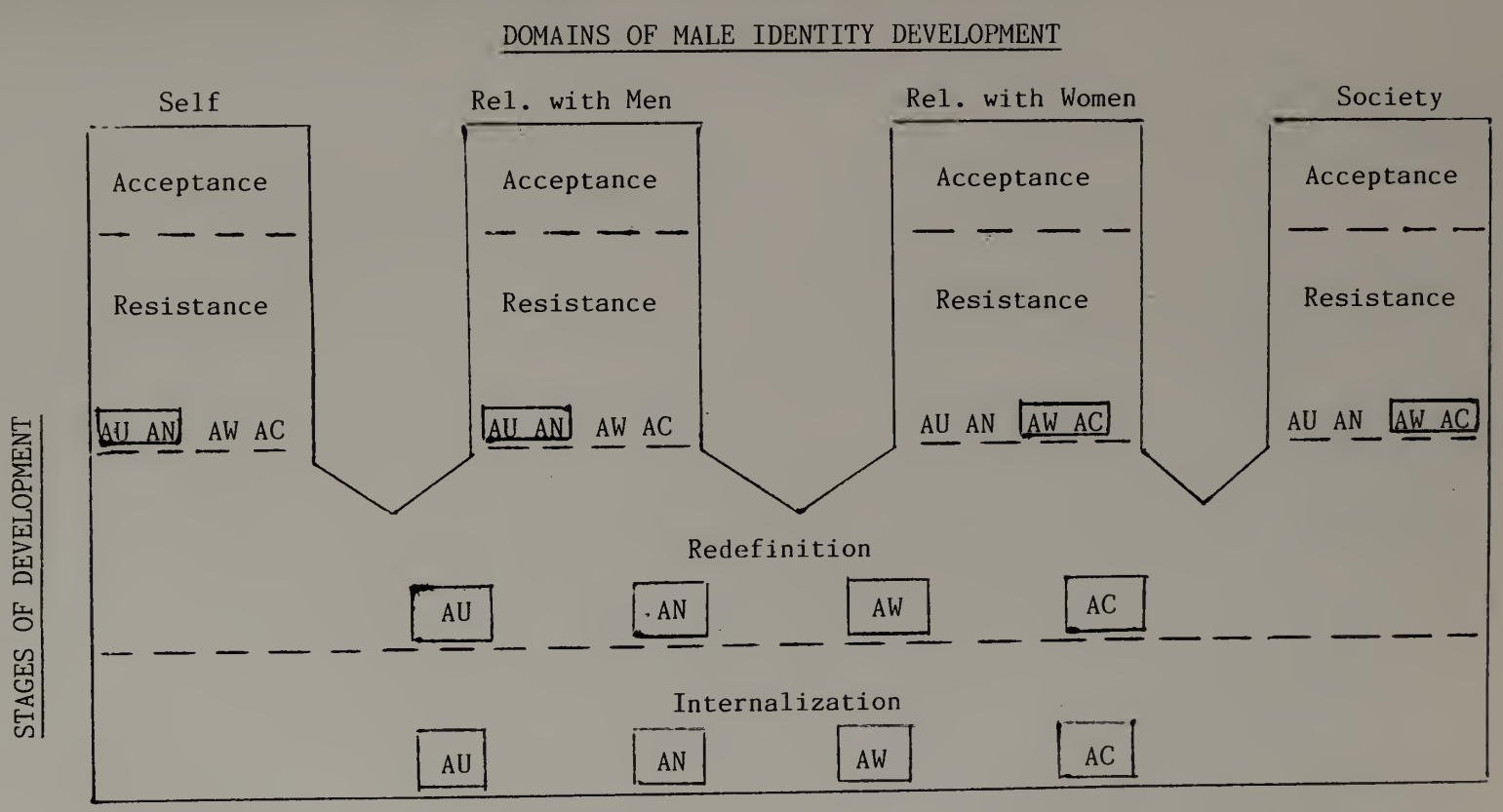
the realization that full change in one domain may depend on change in another; for instance, that in order for them [men] to be fully "free" and "liberated" (domain A), women must be as well, requiring them [men] to give up their privileges or forms of domination (domains C and D), men must redefine themselves and help other men to change as well (domains A and B); or that in order to create a truly equitable alternative to capitalism (domain D), male dominance must be overcome (domain C). The issues are clearly interconnected, and while people may get temporarily "stuck" after changing in just one domain, if they are to come to a new equilibrium and "refreeze", they will have to deal with all of the domains.

In regard to the four desired qualities of the new male set forth in this paper -- autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism, it seems apparent that some of those qualities may be more likely to develop in some domains rather than others because of the issues involved, i.e., -- political awareness and activism in the society or relating to women domain rather than the self domain, and autonomy and androgyny in the self or relating to men domain rather than in the society or women domain. Development of all four qualities may, however, be possible and necessary in each domain, in order for full change to occur. For instance, while a stage of resistance to the way one was socialized

to relate to women (domain C) may involve trying to treat women as equals, or working for women's rights (activism), an attempt to redefine how one relates to women may lead to the development of certain qualities in oneself (androgyny) which leads back to the way one was socialized to relate to oneself and to other men. (domains A & B). On the other hand, beginning in the self domain may at first lead to an attempt to resist certain aspects of one's socialized personality in order to develop more "feminine" qualities (androgyny), but such changes will lead during a redefinition stage to a questionins of how to relate to women, (domain C) and of how our social institutions are structured in such a way that discourages men from developing feminine qualities and legitimates domination in male-female relationships (awareness). Clearly, wherever one starts changing can lead to changes in all domains and in terms of all four characteristics.

It seems possible therefore to suggest a process of male identity development toward autonomy, androgyny, (socio-political) awareness, and (anti-sexist) activism that can start with any aspect or in any domain of men's identity, not necessarily with how they relate to women or with women's oppression, as the male identity development theories suggest. Such a process is diagrammed in Chart 8. Following Hardiman's model of the change process -- acceptance, resistance, redefinition, and internalization, (her first stage of "no social

CHART 8: THE STAGES AND DOMAINS OF MALE IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE "NEW MALE" QUALITIES: AN INTEGRATED MODEL




New male qualities that may develop or be present: autonomy = AU awareness = AW
androgyny = AN activism = AC

New male qualities most likely to develop or be present: [A]

consciousness" is left out because we assume that all adults are already in at least the "acceptance" stage.) this model suggests that men can start changing in any of the four domains but that before reaching internalization in that domain, they must go back to the resistance stage in the other domains, either one at a time or together, and move through the redefinition stage in each domain until their male identity in all four of the domains has been resisted and redefined. Only then is internalization of a coherent and consistent new male identity possible.

While, as indicated above and on the chart, it may be more likely for some of the four qualities to develop in some domains rather than others, no absolute connection between the qualities and the four domains can be made. At the stage of redefinition, however, where all four of the domains necessarily flow together, one would eventually develop all four of the qualities. Contrary to Hardiman's model then, autonomy and androgyny may or may not develop prior to awareness and activism.

Thus, according to the model presented here, change can begin in any domain and in regard to any of the qualities, while the order in which the domains are worked through and the sequence through which the qualities are developed is not significant. The order in which the domains appear on the chart is not meant to imply any particular sequence.

While using the stages of development outlined in Hardiman's generic model of social identity development -- the stages of acceptance, resistance, redefinition, and internalization, this model suggests that that process may occur at different rates in the various developmental domains, thereby leading to varied sequences of development in regard to the new male qualities. Conceptualizing the development process in this way, this model can account for the sequence outlined in the sex role development theories, which describe the development of autonomy and androgyny with no mention of awareness and activism, as well as the sequence outlined by the male identity development theories, which describe a process in which anti-sexist awareness and activism precede the development of autonomy and androgyny.

## Choosing Teaching Principles and Content: Implications of the Developmental Perspective

The intent of this chapter is to develop a model of a pedagogy for men's consciousness raising that is theoretically capable of helping men to become "liberated" and "anti-sexist"; in other words, capable of helping men to develop more autonomy from the dictates of sex role prescriptions, more androgyny in personal/interpersonal behavior, more awareness about the causes and effects of sexism, and more activism in opposing it. These goals were summarized with the four individual terms: autonomy, androgyny, awareness, activism.

In the first section of this chapter, the basic principles of such a pedagogical process were developed, based on an integration of teaching principles from four educational approaches: T-groups, feminist consciousness raising, Freire's education for critical consciousness, and anti-oppression education. These principles were organized in terms of four basic functions of the teaching process, the creation of learning environments encouraging confirmation, contradiction, creation, and continuation. (See Chart 6)

The second section of the chapter was devoted to exploration of how various theories of men's identity development could inform the selection of the particular

content to be examined in the teaching process and the particular teaching principles to be utilized with particular kinds of men. That exploration suggested two basic issues or perspectives on men's development to consider, as summarized in Chart 8, the domains of male identity development, and the stages of male identity development. The major domains identified, (which can dictate the content of the pedagogy) are the intrapersonal (the self), the interpersonal with men, the interpersonal with women, and the societal. The stages identified, which incorporate all of the relevant stages of all of the development theories reviewed, are acceptance, resistance, redefinition, and internalization.

In implementing this pedagogy for men's consciousness raising, there are therefore four factors to consider: the goal, the teaching process, the domain of identity, and the stage of identity development. All of this information can be outlined as follows:

| Goals | Identity Domain | Stage of Identity Development | Teaching Process |
|---|---|---|---|
| autonomy | self | acceptance | confirming |
| androgyny | rel. w/women | resistance | contradicting |
| awareness | rel. w/men | redefinition | creating |
| activism | society | internalization | continuing |

With the information included in these four areas, all of the factors are in place to facilitate the informed choice of which teaching strategy to use, and what content to

explore in order to help a man or men at a given stage of identity development in a given domain to develop a given quality or goal. In terms of Lewin's equation B = f(P x E) (behavior equals a function of the person interacting with their environment), the various factors can be conceptualized as follows:

| Behavior (goals) | = F(person (domain + stage of identity development) | x | Environment) (teaching process and content) |
|---|---|---|---|

In other words, the goals are increased levels of androgyny, autonomy, awareness, and activism. The person can be differentiated in terms of his stage of identity development in each of the four identity domains. The learning environment is created through the use of specific content and teaching principles. As in any algebraic equation, if any two out of three variables are known, the other can be determined. In this case, however, the answers are based not on mathematical principles but rather on the relationship between the variables involved: -- the qualities of the "new male", which are the goals of the pedagogy; patterns of male identity development; and strategies for promoting the desired changes. The more that is known about the relationship between all of these factors, the more accurate "answers" can be found as to:

(1) B ? = f(P x E) Which qualities (behaviors) would be most likely to be promoted in a person at a given identity development level in a particular domain through the use of any specific teaching principles? (2) B = (P x E ?) Which teaching principles should be utilized and what content should be explored in order to help a particular man or men at a particular identity development level to develop more of a particular quality; (3) B = F(P ? x E) What levels of identity development in the various domains are men likely to be at if they have and are developing certain qualities through the application of certain teaching principles?

As indicated, the more that is known about the relationship among the various factors, the more effectively the formula can be utilized to inform the choice of appropriate strategies, content, and/or goals. In order to clarify what is known about these relationship, it will be useful to articulate the answers to three basic questions, some aspects of which have already been explored earlier in this chapter:

1. What is the general relationship between the various teaching principles (E) and the goals (B)?

2. What is the general relationship between the domains and stages of identity development (P) and the goals (B)?

3. What is the general relationship between the teaching principles (E) and the domains and stages of identity development (P)?

Question 1. What is the general relationship between the various teaching principles and the goals? In other words, which teaching principles are most likely to lead to the development of which qualtities? In the review of the four relevant educational approaches, it was made clear that teaching principles derived from the T-group and feminist consciousness raising approaches would be most appropriate for facilitating the development of autonomy and androgyny, while the principles derived from the Freirian and anti-oppression approaches would be most appropriate for facilitating the development of awareness and activism. In the model of a pedagogy for men's consciousness raising outlined in Chart 6, the principles from all of these approaches were integrated and combined, but it is still possible to categorize the integrated set of principles in terms of which of the qualities each most applicable to. In the chart (Chart 9) on the following page these categorizations are made for each of the principles in the pedagogical model. The rationale for these categorizations is implicit in the exploration of these principles on pages 161-169, and in the list of participant objectives in Chart 6.

Chart 9: Relationship Between the Teaching Principles And The Goals of the Pedagogical Model

| Teaching Principles | Goals | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Au | An | Aw | Ac |
| 1. Confirmation | | | | |
| a. Set norms for creating a non-judgmental dialogical communication process. | X | X | X | X |
| b. Set norms which make the personal experiencing of learners the basic content of discussion. | X | X | X | X |
| c. Structure activities which build trust and dialogue and facilitate personal sharing. | X | X | X | X |
| 2. Contradiction | | | | |
| a. Interpersonal processing of here and now behavior in the group. | X | X | | |
| b. Present new information, definitions, and cognitive organizers re: sex roles and sexism. | X | X | X | X |
| c. Structure activities through which participants encounter contradictions in their present behavior and consciousness. | X | X | X | X |
| d. Problematize - Pose limits to men's growth and development as problems to be analyzed and solved. | | | X | X |
| 3. Creation (Modelling/Envisioning) | | | | |
| a. Modelling of alternative interpersonal behaviors. | X | X | | |
| b. Dialogue/discussion involving an analysis of the causes of limits and problems, and envisioning of alternatives and solutions. | | | X | X |

| Teaching Principles | Goals | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Au | An | Aw | Ac |
| c. Present alternative cognitive maps. | X | X | X | X |
| d. Provide structure for planning actions for personal and social change. | X | X | X | X |
| e. Praxis-engage participants in action to transform themselves and their society, and in reflection on that action. | | | X | X |
| 4. Continuity<br>a. Summarizing and synthesizing | X | X | X | X |
| b. Support groups. | X | X | X | X |
| c. Encourage continued praxis. | X | X | X | X |
| d. Gradual disengagement by the leader. | X | X | X | X |

Goals

Au=Autonomy Aw=Awareness
An=Androgyny Ac=Activism

With these categorizations in mind, it is important to offer the following conclusions and points of clarification:

- In the confirmation and continuation categories all of the principles listed are useful for the development of all of the goals. The confirming and continuation functions are the same no matter what goals or changes are involved as they set the stage for the "unfreezing" process to begin and for the "refreezing" and reintegration process to occur.

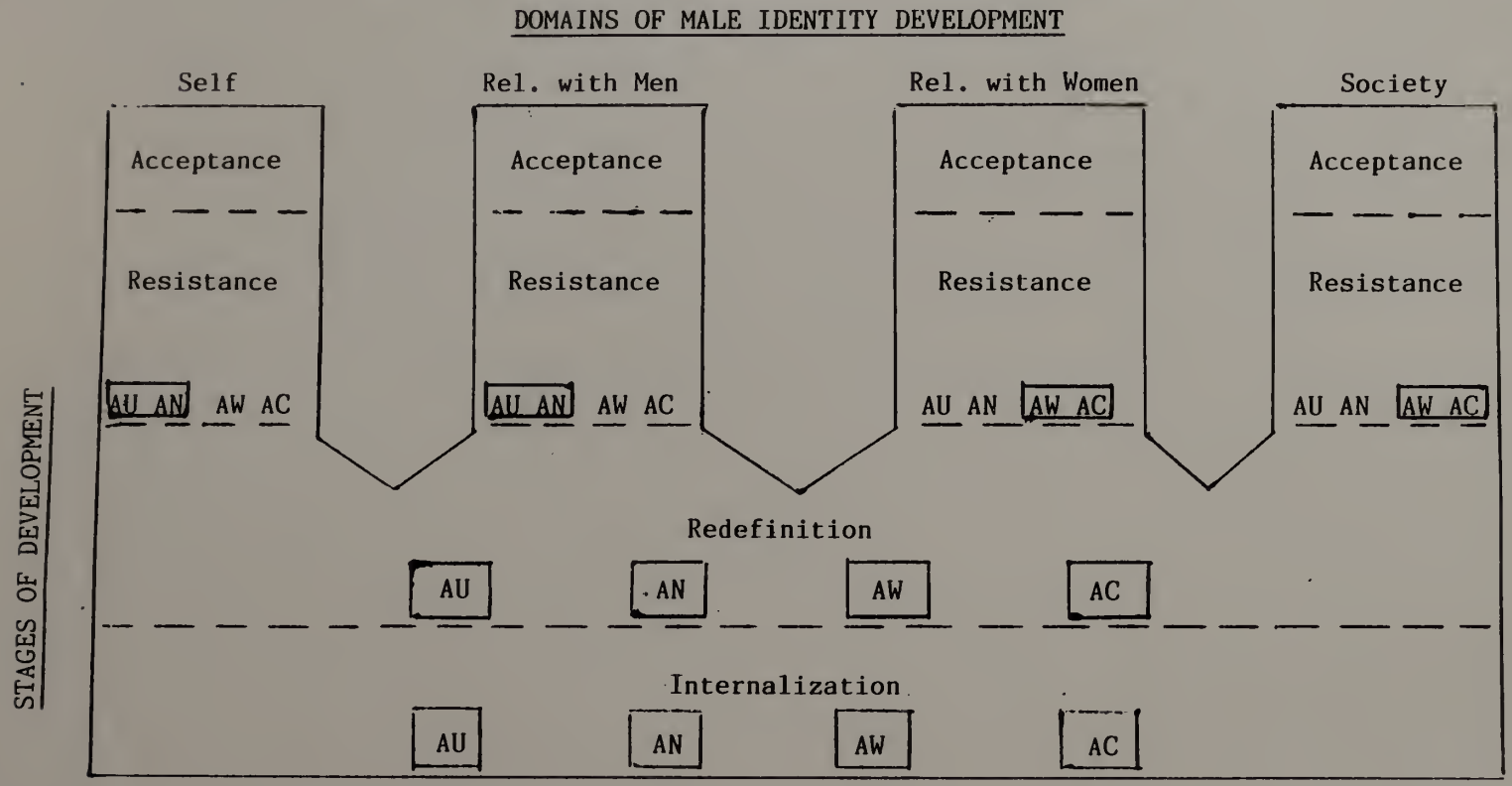
- In the contradicting and creating categories, of those principles that are listed as relevant to all of the goals, the particular applicability will probably depend on the content of the issues being examined. For instance, a focus on interpersonal behavior and sex roles would most likely lead to greater autonomy and androgyny, while a focus on institutionalized oppression and sexism would most likely lead to greater awareness and activism.

Question 2. What is the relationship between the stages of identity development, the domains of identity, and the goals? In other words, what is the correlation between a man's level of identity development in the various domains and the likelihood that he will have or be motivated to develop a particular quality? With this information, one can more effectively determine:

(a) what identity domain to focus on in order to help men to develop a particular quality: and (b) what qualities it is reasonable to expect a man to develop, given his developmental stage in the various domains. Once a choice of goals is made on this basis, the teaching principles can be chosen in accordance with the relationships outlined in Chart 9 and in answer to question #1 above. Chart 8 presents a graphic representation of the relationship between these three factors, and therefore contains the answer to this multi-dimensional question. That chart is reproduced on the following page. The answers contained in this chart can be articulated as follows:

As indicated on the chart and discussed at length in the developmental section of this chapter, it seems useful to conceptualize the stages of male identity development as occuring at sometimes varying rates in at least four major identity domains. In each of the domains men work through each of the developmental stages, with development in certain domains more likely to lead to certain goals. It is important to note, however, that this correlation of goals with domains and stages is not meant to indicate that identity development automatically leads to the development of the goals, but only that at certain stages and domains the development of certain goals is possible or even likely.

CHART 8: THE STAGES AND DOMAINS OF MALE IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE "NEW MALE" QUALITIES: AN INTEGRATED MODEL




New male qualities that may develop or be present: autonomy = AU awareness = AW androgyny = AN activism = AC

New male qualities most likely to develop or be present: [A]

- Autonomy and androgyny are most likely to develop at the resistance level in the self and relationships with men domains. At the acceptance level in those domains, autonomy begins to develop as gross contradictions are introduced and feelings of dissonance begin to develop.

- Awareness and activism are most likely to develop at the resistance level in the relationships with men and soceity domains. At the acceptance level in these domains, awareness of the existence of sexism begins as gross contradictions are introduced and feelings of dissonance begin to develop.

- All of the goals are likely to develop at the redefinition and internalization levels in each of the domains as men see and work through the inter-connections between their various "selves".

The pedagogical implications of these points are: For men at a general level of acceptance and resistance:

- If the primary aim is to help men to develop more autonomy and androgyny, then the pedagogy should focus on the self and relationships with men domains.

- If the primary aim is to help men become more active and aware, the pedagogy should focus on the relationships with women and society domains.

For men at general levels of redefinition and internalization:

- Any of the qualities can be developed through a focus on any of the domains.

- Full development in any one domain will eventually lead to the exploration of the other domains, and to the likely development of all of the goals. Therefore, for men at these stages, choice of the domain focused on is not as important.

Question 3. What is the general relationship between the teaching process and the stages and domains of development? Responding to the first two questions above has involved summarizing and restating what had already been explored and articulated earlier in the chapter. This final question, however, has not yet been addressed, and responding to it involves the more difficult task of exploring how, if at all, the developmental model articulated in the second half of this chapter can inform the implementation of the pedagogical process developed in the chapter's first half.

The basic relationship between these three factors involved can be stated as follows: The teaching principles define the process of this pedagogy for men's consciousness raising. The domain of identity being explored will define the general content that is being examined in that process (e.g. content about the self, relationships with men,

relationships with women, or society). The stage or level of identity development of a man or group of men within the domain being explored can, in turn, help to inform both what specific aspect of that domain and content should be examined, and what particular teaching principles should be employed. For instance, what aspect of men's relationship with women it might make sense to examine and what kind of contradictions it would be appropriate to raise. Not yet explained is how and according to what criteria the stage of development can inform those choices.

In developing such an explanation, it will first of all be useful to explore the general connection between the basic phases of the teaching process and the identity development process. The first question to consider is therefore: Can the teaching process facilitate the developmental process? Or, in other words: Can the four learning environments of the teaching process provide the necessary conditions for development as outlined in the various stage theories.

A possible response to that question is that the teaching process described does indeed appear to provide all of the conditions for development and eventual stage movement mentioned in all of the developmental theories. That is not to say that a consciousness raising pedagogy can lead to stage transition in a period of a few days or even months. As conceptualized in the various developmental theories, stage

transitions occur over a period of years. That is to say, however, that the teaching process described can support and not inhibit the general sort of developmental process desired by providing the sort of environments in which such development can occur.

The reason for that compatibility between the teaching process and the developmental process is that the phases of the pedagogy -- confirmation, contradiction, creation, and continuity, are analagous to the cognitive-developmental conditions for learning (see page 165), and the developmental theories reviewed are either derived from theories of cognitive development, or suggest causes of development that are analagous. To be more specific, of the sex role development theories reviewed above, those of Pleck (1976) and Block (1975) are, respectively, based on extrapolations from the cognitive developmental theories of Kohlberg and Loevinger. The cause of the critical stage movement from sex role conformity to sex role transcendance is attributed by Pleck to a combination of new input and experiences not adequately explained by the sex role model, and exposure to a new model or cognitive structure that offers a different way of thinking about the issue. According to Block's model, that transition occurs as a direct result of the developing ego's need for internal coherence and a more functional explanation of appropriate role definitions which could incorporate a more androgynous

range of behavior. According to the model proposed by Oleshansky et al. (1976), that key transition requires experiences strongly contradicting traditional sex role norms, and strong group and relational support for alternatives. Clearly, all of these factors would be provided by the contradicting and creating environments described in the model.

The theories of male identity development are not directly extrapolated from theories of cognitive development, but the suggested causes of stage movements and transitions are similar. According to the Edler/Schneidiwind Model (1975), for instance, stage movement appears to be motivated by cognitive dissonance that results from exposure to new information and experience, leading to more and more awareness of sexism and its effects on women. According to Liddell's (1977) and Hardiman's (1982) models, the movement from what they respectively term patriarchy/acceptance to non-patriarchy/resistance, is also motivated by exposure to new information and perspectives revealing the oppression of women and men's role in that oppression, exposure which a contradicting environment could provide; while the movement from non-patriarchy/resistance to post-patriarchy/redefinition is motivated by dissonance resulting from a need for a new more positive sense of what "new men" can be and can be for, not just what they are against, a need that can be filled in a creating environment. Once again,

therefore, the facilitating environments offering contradiction and creation could increase dissonance and provide support for stage movement along with modelling or helping men to envision a new way of looking at the issue.

Therefore, it appears that within a total environment offering the confirmation that helps provide for the freedom and security to take risks, and the continuity to allow for integration of the changes that develop, various kinds of contradicting and creating input can facilitate the process of male identity development. While the basic conditions facilitating the movement from the phases of acceptance to resistance, resistance to redefinition, and redefinition to internalization may be the same, however, it is important to note that the content of the contradicting and creating will vary with the stage as well as the issues or identity domain being explored. In other words, the kind of contradicting and creating that will engage, interest, and support the development of men in, for instance, the acceptance stage in the relationships with men domain, will be different from that which will engage, interest, and support men at a redefinition or resistance stage in that domain. It is in differentiating between the needs and interest of men at the various stages that the developmental model can therefore inform the specific content and process to be implemented in the pedagogy.

The following general suggestions can be made for the kind or content of contradicting and creating that would appear to be most appropriate for men at stages of acceptance, resistance, and redefinition. Although a further differentiation as to the stages in each domain might also be useful, there is enough in common among the domains that this general set of guidelines set forth in Chart 10 below should be sufficient to make the point.

Chart 10: Stages of Identity Development and Issues to be Explored

For men at the acceptance stage:

Contradicting:

- Exploration on how men in general and course participants in particular were socialized to be like "men" and weren't necessarily born with those "masculine" qualities.

- Identification of problem areas and limits in regard to their concept of "masculinity -- intra personally, interpersonally with men and with women, and societally, particularly in terms of class and race.

- Identification of the connection of sexism and sex role stereotypes to those limits and problem areas.

Creating:

- Cognitive frameworks explaining how sex role socialization and sexism may be causing those problems and limits.

- Examples (models) of how to act outside of sex role stereotypes and of how to act in anti-sexist ways.

For men at the resistance stage:

Contradicting:

- More exploration of effects of male role socialization on self, relationships, and institutionalized sexism, classism, and racism.

- More identification of relationship of interpersonal problems and social problems to sex roles and sexism

- Introduction of need for a new positive sense of self to replace that which is being rejected.

Creating:

- Identification of alternative interpersonal behaviors, and alternative cognitive frameworks to help understand sex roles and sexism.

- Exposure to alternative models of ways to relate to other men and to women, and to engage in anti-sexist activism.

- Exposure to viewpoints and to men that reject sexist socialization and also articulate a new redefined positive sense of masculinity.

For men at the redefinition stage:

Contradicting:

- Connection of male role socialization to all areas of one's life.

- Connection of problems in each identity domain to each other.

- Connection between sexism and other forms of oppression.

Creating:

- Exposure to more new positive anti-sexist androgynous ways to define self as a man in all identity domains.

- Exposure to world views and cognitive frameworks that make connections between the various contexts and forms of oppression.

What these guidelines are meant to suggest is that as each of the teaching principles in the contradicting and creating phases of the pedagogy (as outlined in Chart 6) are implemented, these are the specific kinds of content that should be included for men at the particular developmental level in the domain being explored. It is, once again, that domain that indicates the general content area, and the stage that can indicate the specific aspect of that content to be explored. From these general guidelines, a few additional implications can be drawn as to the implementation of the pedagogy:

- In a group of participants that is heterogeneous in regard to the stages of development, the various kinds of contradicting and creating will probably be provided by participants for each other in the course of discussing/dialoguing about the issues and domain in question. In a group that is more homogeneous in regard to the stages, more of the contradicting and creating must be provided by the facilitator through discussion, presentation, or outside materials such as films and readings. Since no group is perfectly heterogeneous or homogeneous, all learning experiences must in reality depend on a combination of the two, with the appropriate balance of participant versus facilitator contradicting/creating dictated by the mix of consciousness/awareness in regard to whatever domain is being explored.

## Conclusions:

The relationship among the goals of the pedagogy, the teaching process developed, the domains of male identity, and the stages of male identity development have now been explored, and the basic implications of those relationships for the implementation of the pedagogy have been identified. In so doing, the insights of a developmental process-oriented perspective on male identity development have been added to the set of teaching principles developed.

The combination of these perspectives has indicated that in choosing the particular principles and teaching approach to be used with a particular group of men, and the specific content to be explored, there are at least three questions to take into account: (1) Which and how much of the four "new male" qualities the learners possess and which of them one is hoping to help them develop. (2) What identity domain and particular issues and questions the men are most concerned about. (3) What combination of qualities and concerns a particular group of men possess.

With the answers to such questions in mind, the developmental process-oriented perspective of male identity development can inform the implementation of the pedagogy from two perspectives:

1. From the perspective of which qualities one wants to help men to develop there are certain teaching principles

it will be most appropriate to utilize, and there are certain identity domains that it will be most appropriate to explore. Within each identity domain, the stage of identity development can indicate the particular content that it will be best to examine. Specifically, the various guidelines that have been articulated from this perspective can be articulated as follows:

A. If autonomy and androgyny are the primary goals, focus on the self and the relationship with men domains and utilize the principles associated with those qualities in Chart 9.

B. If awareness and activism are the primary goals, focus on the relationships with women and the society domains, and utilize the principles associated with those qualities in Chart 9.

C. Within each identity domain, the particular content to be explored can be based on the stages of identity development of the men in the group. The guidelines for that choice are presented in Chart 10.

2. From the perspective of what identity domain the learners are most interested in exploring and working on:

A. There is certain content it will be most appropriate to explore, depending on their levels of identity development in that domain. (see Chart 10)

B. There are certain qualities it will be most appropriate to promote. (see Chart 8) (For example, for men heavily involved in the society domain, particularly those at acceptance and resistance levels, it would make the most sense to work toward the development of awareness or activism, depending on the stage.)

Making the choice of teaching strategies and content from this perspective can help learners to become engaged in and committed to the learning process. It is this approach that Freire suggests when he proposes identifying the generative theme of a group -- the issue and limit they are most concerned about, and then using that theme to engage the group in a process of re-examining and changing their definition of themselves as men, and the social context in which they live. Since all of the domains are, as pointed out above, ultimately connected, and since full actualization of any of the four qualities, and in any of the domains, ultimately requires actualization in the others, the change process can begin in any domain and eventually be worked through the others.

If the choice of teaching principles and content is made on the basis of meeting the needs of a heterogeneous group, then an approach should be devised that includes an exploration of all of the domains in a manner that is

appropriate for men at all levels of development, thus insuring that all of the men in the group become engaged on a level and with a domain that has meaning for them. In the process of exploring the various issues, men with varied characteristics can be helpful to each other in presenting different points of view, raising contradictions, and modelling alternative behaviors and forms of consciousness.

In the detailed course description to follow, an example of the application of these principles to such a heterogeneous group of men will be documented. A detailed formula for applying these principles cannot be presented out of context because if the curriculum is to be most meaningful and effective it must be created in response to and in dialogue with a particular learning group. The basic principles can be articulated in advance, but not the specific strategies to be employed.

# CHAPTER V

## A COURSE ON "MEN AND MASCULINITY"

The purpose of this chapter is to move the development of a pedagogy for men's consciousness raising from the general theoretical level to the specific and practical. In the previous chapter a model was developed and presented for a men's consciousness raising program that is theoretically capable of helping men to develop more autonomy from the dictates of sex role prescriptions, more androgyny in personal/interpersonal behavior, more awareness about the causes and effects of sexism, and more activism in opposing it. In the development of a pedagogy with these four goals, three factors or theoretical perspectives were considered and their inter-relationship explored: (1) the teaching process, which was organized in terms of four kinds of learning environments or necessary functions -- confirming, contradicting, creating, and continuing; (2) the domains of male identity being explored -- self, relationships with women, relationships with men, societal; (3) the stages of male identity development -- acceptance, resistance, redefinition, or internalization -- which have implications for how that domain should be explored and in regard to what specific issues. These various factors were previously outlined and summarized as follows:

| Goals | Identity Domain | Stage of Identity Development | Teaching Process |
|---|---|---|---|
| autonomy | self | acceptance | confirming |
| androgyny | rel. w/women | resistance | contradicting |
| awareness | rel. w/men | redefinition | creating |
| activism | society | internalization | continuing |

In this chapter, a specific course based on these principles and perspectives is described, and the findings of an informal evaluation of the effectiveness of that course in meeting its goals is reported. The Chapter is therefore divided into two main sections: (A) the course description; (B) the course evaluation. In the next and concluding chapter of this study, those findings are interpreted and their implications for changing the model are explored.

This process of implementation, evaluation, and possible revision of the model and the curriculum is in some respects a continuation of the process through which the model and the course were originally developed. Indeed, it is important to point out in this regard that the course to be described was in reality developed concurrently with the theoretical model presented in Chapter Four. It was therefore not a direct implementation of an already articulated model, but rather, in a synergy of theory and practice, served as part of a process through which the theoretical model was developed. Successful practice informed the theory at the same time that the theory informed the practice. As a result of

this process, while the course does illustrate most aspects of the model, it is not a perfect embodiment of all of that model's principles. The course will be presented in terms of its relationship to the model, but those places where it diverges from or does not fully carry out the model will be pointed out as well. Suggestions for how to make the course more consistent with the model will also be made. For easy reference, Chart 6, which outlines the principles and objectives of the pedagogy is reproduced on the following page.

## Course Description

This course description will be organized as follows:

1. Brief course description

2. A profile of the course participants, including their concerns and qualities relative to male sexrole issues.

3. An overview of the course design outlining the basic sequence and flow of questions and topics, and their relation to the appropriate principles of model.

4. A description of the basic components of the course, the basic elements of a typical class session, and their relation to the basic functions of teaching process.

5. An explanation of the goals and procedures of each specific class session, including its relationship to the pedagogical model and an outline of the specific activities, strategies, assigned readings, and out of class projects

## CHART 6: A MODEL OF A PEDAGOGY FOR MEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING

| Learning environment/Teaching Principles | Participant Objectives |
|---|---|
| 1. Confirmation<br>a.) Set norms for creating a non-judgemental dialogical communication process. (T, F, CR, AOE)<br>b.) Set norms which make the personal experiencing of learners the basic content of discussion.(T, F., CR, AOE)<br>c.) Structure activities which build trust and dialogue and facilitate personal sharing. (F, CR, AOE) | 1. Unfreezing part 1: Feeling safe and affirmed<br>a.) Feel comfortable, safe, affirmed, and accepted.<br>b.) Open up and share personal feelings and experiences regarding: (1) the "here and now" experience in the group, and (2) "there and then" experiences in the past and outside of the group relating to masculinity, sex roles, and sexism. |
| 2. Contradiction<br>a.) Interpersonal processing of here and now behavior in the group. (T)<br>b.) Present new information, definitions, and cognitive organizers re. sex roles and sexism. (AOE)<br>c.) Structure activities through which participants encounter contradictions in their present behavior and consciousness. (CR, AOE)<br>d.) Problematize - pose limits to men's growth and development as problems to be analyzed and solved. (F) | 2. Unfreezing part 2: Feeling anxiety/disequilibrium<br>a.) Experience feedback re. one's effect on others and the group process.<br>b.) Feel heightened anxiety, dissonance, and disequilibrium about some stereotypically male interpersonal behaviors.<br>c.) Recognize connections between some of those dissonant behaviors and male socialization.<br>d.) Stretch and broaden one's scope of knowledge about sex roles and sexism.<br>e.) Recognize some of the dehumanizing effects on self and others of sex roles and sexism.<br>f.) Experience feelings of dissonance and disequilibrium regarding one's current way of making meaning about sex roles and sexism. |
| 3. Creation<br>a.) Modelling of alternative interpersonal behaviors. (T)<br>b.) Dialogue/discussion involving an analysis of the causes of limits and problems, and envisioning of alternatives and solutions.(F, CR, AOE)<br>c.) Present alternative cognitive maps.<br>d.) Provide structure for planning actions for personal and social change.<br>e.) Praxis - engage participants in action to transform themselves and their society, and in reflection on that action. | 3. Changing<br>a.) Recognize interpersonal effectiveness of a more androgynous range of behavior.<br>b.) Recognize some of the socio-economic-political causes of some of the limits that one experiences as a man, and the connection of those limits to sex roles and sexism.<br>c.) Recognize or envision alternative personal behaviors and alternative forms of social organization.<br>d.) Experience more satisfying and fulfilling ways of being with other men.<br>e.) Recognize and adopt a new cognitive map about these issues which resolves the disequilibrium one was experiencing.<br>f.) Engage in praxis - action-reflection-action - in trying to change oneself and one's environment, in and out of the group. |
| 4. Continuity<br>a.) Summarizing and synthesizing. (CR, AOE)<br>b.) Support groups. (F, CR, AOE)<br>c.) Encourage continued praxis. (F)<br>d.) Gradual disengagement by the leader. (F) | 4. Refreezing<br>a.) Integration of new behaviors and consciousness into relational system.<br>b.) Continued praxis. |

Educational approaches the principles are derived from:

(T) = T-group

(F) = Freire's Education for Critical Consciousness

(CR) = Feminist Consciousness Raising

(AOE) = Anti-oppression education

utilized. In Appendix A, detailed descriptions are provided of these specific activities and procedures.

6. A discussion of how the course embodies the specific teaching principles of the pedagogical model, including a review of how the key principles of the four approaches upon which this pedagogy is based are implemented in this course design.

7. A conclusion, including problems in implementing the model, and suggestions for varying the design for groups with different needs.

## Brief Course Description

The consciousness raising program to be described is a college course entitled "Men and Masculinity", which was taught in the spring and fall semesters of 1983 at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. The course consisted of 14 2.5 hour sessions. The following excerpts from the course syllabus illustrate how it was described to prospective participants:

Men and Masculinity: Educ H392B
S. Schapiro, Instructor
Spring 1983

Objectives:

1. Understand the impact of male socialization on psychological development, interpersonal behavior, and social attitudes.
2. Recognize some of the costs and benefits of socialization into traditional stereotypes.
3. Understand the basic dynamics of sexism at individual, cultural, and institutional levels.
4. Explore and experiment with alternative ways of being male through which we can be more complete and whole and less hurtful to ourselves and others.
5. To make more conscious, informed, and autonomous choices in our lives about what it means or should mean to be a man; and to be able to help others to do the same.

Course Structure and Methodology

This course will be run as a structured consciousness-raising group in which, in a non-threatening and supportive atmosphere, we will learn about masculinity by exploring together our experience of being men, or or being women in relation to men. Class time will involve a combination of discussion, structured experiential activities, and possible films and guest speakers. The processes through which we communicate and develop as a group will also be treated as an important source of learning.

> Journal writing and a series of learning papers will serve to stimulate and supplement the personal reflection and sharing through which we expect most of our learning to come. Readings will be assigned each week to stimulate discussion and provide a theoretical framework from which to analyze our experience.

The course was designed to foster the development in ment of the four qualities, autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism, as they have been defined in this study. The goals presented to students incorporate these objectives, while describing them in different terms. While the course design was very similar for both semesters it was taught, there was some variation, and the design will be described in detail for how it was presented in the spring. In the last section of the chapter, the minor variations in the design based on the differences in the two groups will be mentioned. Evaluation data were collected and will be reported on both groups.

## Profile of Participants

The participants in the course during the spring semester consisted of 13 men - 10 undergraduates and 3 extension students, 12 white and one black, ranging in age from 19 to 34. Their interests, concerns and qualities were assessed through the following means:

- An interest survey (see Appendix X-2), designed by the instructor to assess what identity domains and what questions about men and masculinity the course participants

were interested in pursuing.

- A questionnaire on "perspectives on men and masculinity" (see Appendix B-3), adapted by the instructor from another source (Schneidiwind 1975) to measure critical awareness of sexism and level of anti-sexist activism. Responses to this questionnaire also gave some indication of stages of identity development in the four identity contexts.

- The instructor's observations of participants' personal qualities and personal interactions gave some indication of their levels of personal androgyny, autonomy from sex role stereotypes, and awareness of sexism. In particular, the instructor looked for examples of expressive behavior such as expression of feelings, empathic listening, and physical contact without embarrassment. The data gathered through these means were used to informally assess:

1. The degree of the "new male" qualities of autonomy, androgyny awareness, and activism that the men had as they began the course.

2. The identity domains that the men were most concerned about and interested in exploring.

3. The general stages of male identity development of the men in the group. By using Chart 8, which correlates the new male qualities to the domains and stages of identity development, data on what qualities men possess and what

issues they are concerned about can provide some indication of their stage of identity development. In this manner, the model of male identity development can be used as a diagnostic tool.

Findings regarding interests, concerns, and qualities of participants:

The interest survey, which involved a rating scale and an open-ended question, indicated a wide distribution of interest in all four identity domains, with the "self" category highest rated. A rating of interest on a scale of "0 = no interest" to "4 = primary interest" resulted in the following mean scores for questions related to each context: self: 2.85, men and men: 2.73, men and women: 2.66, men and society: 2.62. (full data in Appendix A-2). The balance of interests in the four domains produced the grouping of scores in the middle of the range. Participants' responses to an open-ended question: "What concerns you most about masculinity and yourself as a man?" were categorized as to what identity domain they involved, with 54% dealing with the self domain, 23% with the men relating to women domain, and 20% with the men relating to men domain. (for full list of responses see Appendix-3). In sum, there was strong interest expressed in all four domains, with the strongest in the self, and the weakest in the societal.

The questionnaire on sexism and masculinity indicated a range in levels of "critical" awareness of the socio-political causes and effects of sexism from high to fairly low. (see Appendices B-4, B-4, B-5). This assessment tool was also used as a pre and post test measure of the course's effectiveness. The questionnaire and the pre-test findings are therefore discussed at length in the course evaluation section of this chapter. On a scale from 0-3, 50% of the participants on the pre-test were at level 1, 37.5% at level 2 and 12.5% at level 3. In terms of the stages of identity development, these data tend to indicate that the vast majority of participants were in a basic acceptance stage or moving into resistance, with that 12.5% firmly at resistance or redefinition. More subjective review of the responses indicated to the instructor a corresponding range in general stages of identity development from acceptance to resistance to redefinition. For instance, many statements indicated a basic acceptance of traditional sex role stereotypes and a lack of awareness of their harm to women or men (acceptance level); many other statements indicated a concern with finding ways to confront other people's sexism and create political actions groups (resistance level); while still others indicated a concern with finding a new non-oppressive masculinity that men could feel good about (redefinition stage).

The instructor's observations indicated a wide range in levels of personal androgyny between those who displayed a combination of many expressive "feminine" behaviors and instrumental "masculine" ones ("androgynous"), those who were primarily instrumental with low levels of expressivity ("masculine"), and those who were low in both areas. In the course evaluation section of this chapter there is a discussion of other ways of defining and measuring androgyny, but these subjective observations were the only cues used for this pre-course diagnosis.

Implications of these findings:

Given the indications of wide diversity in the group in terms of age, primary domains of interest, and degrees of awareness, activism, and androgyny, it was decided that for the course to be as effective as possible in meeting the needs of all of the participants, it should focus to some extent on all four identity domains, and attempt to promote the development of all four of the qualities. The imprecision of the assessment tools used also make an eclectic approach appropriate in order to insure reaching all participants at some level. Since the strongest interest was expressed in the self domain, it made sense to begin the course with an exploration of that area. Also, since a significant percentage of participants seemed to be at low levels of awareness and androgyny, and to be at a basic

acceptance level of male identity development, it also seemed appropriate to being the study of masculinity and of each context in turn at a very concrete elemental level, helping the men involved to develop a broad data-base before any conclusions are drawn and contradictions raised.

These implications are reflected in the design which follows, which is geared for use with such a diverse group of men. Ongoing assessment of personal qualities and stages of development in each of the identity domains had further implications for how the design was carried out, as will be indicated in the detailed session by session course description later in this chapter. Because the assessment tools used were so subjective and imprecise, it is particularly important to continually reassess where participants are and what their needs may be. As participants begin to struggle with contradictions and with each other, and to look for alternative ways of thinking and acting on these issues, the instructor's awareness of patterns of identity development can help to inform his or her choice of appropriate interventions -- for instance, helping those at resistance levels to identify personal and political means of opposing sexism, or helping those who are being shaken out of an acceptance stage to be provided a new conceptual schema that can resolve the contradictions they are experiencing. In this manner, the developmental stage

theory can be used as another means to help an instructor to meet students where they are and to introduce concepts and activities that speak to their primary interests and emerging concerns. The developmental model should not and can not be used as a precise diagnostic tool but should function instead as background awareness that can help one to understand what course participants might be experiencing and where they might be heading.

## Overview of the Course Design

Before presenting a detailed description of each session of the course it will be useful to first present an overview and outline of the sequence of topics and questions considered in order to communicate the basic logical flow of the design and it's relationship to the principles of the pedagogical model. To this end, the following information is presented first in outline form on Chart 11 to follow:

- The main topic of each session
- The basic questions to be addressed in each session

These questions are, in Freire's terms, the problems being posed to the participants. The search for answers to those questions and responses and solutions to those problems form the basic content of the course.

expected in a four month period of times and about possible weaknesses in the curriculum design and insufficiencies in the model of identity development.

In so doing, it will first of all be useful to look more specifically at the particular kinds of changes in awareness and activism indicated by the data. It is interesting to note, for example, that in the responses to the questionnaire "perspectives on sexism and masculinity," (see Appendix B-3 ), levels of awareness increased most dramatically on the questions (numbers 2, 3, 4) dealing with how the individual affects and is affected by sexism, with very small increases in awareness about how society and our social institutions support and embody sexism, and about how sexism can be confronted. Statements in participants' written material about their awareness indicated a similar pattern. Apparently then, the continued effort in the course to help men to see personal connections to the issue was very effective, but that effectiveness might have come at least partly at the expense of more emphasis on connections to larger social systems and socio/political issues. Indeed, this lack of emphasis is reflected in the fact that only one session was devoted to the men and society domain, while four were devoted to the self domain; and furthermore, two of the three sessions on the man-woman domain and both

- The relationship of the sections of the course, and of each of these questions to the "what, so what, now what" principle of sequencing.

- The primary goals of each session in regard to the four outcome objectives: autonomy from sex role norms (au), androgyny (an), awareness of the socio-political causes and affects of sexism (aw), and anti-sexist activism (ac).

- The primary identity domain(s) focused on in each session

- The environmental emphasis or basic function of the teaching process, included in each session, with the primary environment/function underlined.

Following the chart, the implications of these categorizations in regard to the flow of the course and its relationship to the pedagogical model will be explored. In the session by session description to follow later in the chapter, the various categorizations of each session will be justified and explained as the specific activities and procedures of each session are listed.

# CHART 11: OVERVIEW OF THE COURSE DESIGN

| SESSIONS/TOPICS | QUESTIONS/PROBLEMS | KEY GOAL(S) | KEY CONTEXT(S) | KEY LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PHASE I: WHAT?** | | | | |
| 1. Introduction | What is this course about? (what?) | --- | all | confirming |
| 2.) Growing Up Male I | What messages did you/we learn about how to be a man?(what?) | au | self | confirming contradicting |
| 3.) Growing Up Male II | How did those messages affect us? (so what?) | eu, av | self | confirming contradicting |
| 4.) Men, emotions, and self-disclosure | What messages did you/we learn about feelings? (what?)<br>How do those effect us? (what/so what?)<br>With what costs and benefits?(so what?) | au, en | self | confirming contradicting |
| **PHASE II: SO WHAT?** | | | | |
| 5.) The Dynamics of Oppression | What are the dynamics of oppression? (what?)<br>How does the masculine role relate to sexism/oppression? (what?/so what?) | ev | rel. with ♀ rel. with ♂ society | confirming contradicting |
| 6.) Man-woman Relationships and the Dynamics of Oppression | What have been the problems/limits in your own relationships with women? (what?)<br>How do sex roles affect m/w relationships? Your relationships? (so what?)<br>How do issues of power - dominance/subordinance - affect m/w relationships? Your relationships? (so what?) | su, sv | rel. with ♀ | confirming contradicting creating |
| 7.) Male Sexuality | How do issues of dominance/subordinance male sexuality? Your sexuality? (so what?)<br>What would you like to change about how express your sexuality? (now what?) | su, sn sv, ec | rel. with ♀ rel. with ♂ | confirming contradicting contradicting |
| 8.) Violence Against Women | Why are men violent against women? (so what?<br>What can we do about it? (now what?) | eu, ev ec | rel. with ♀ | confirming contradicting creating |
| 9.) Men Relating to Men I | What are the barriers to close male/male relationships? (what?)<br>How are those affecting us in here? (so what?) | eu, ev | rel. with ♂ | confirming contradicting creating |
| 10.) Men Relating to Men II (building better relationships) | How can we overcome the barriers? In general? In the group? (now what?) | eu, sn sv, ec | rel. with ♂ | confirming contradicting creating |
| 11.) Men, Class, and Race | How do classism and racism effect you/us/men? (what/so what?)<br>How do they relate to/support sexism? (so what?) | ev | society (class, race) | confirming contradicting creating |
| **PHASE III: NOW WHAT?** | | | | |
| 12.) Personal Change | What changes would you like to make, are you making, in your way of being a man, relating to men and women, dealing with sexism, etc...? (now what?)<br>What concrete steps can you/we take to begin to make those changes? (now what?) | eu, sn sc | all | confirming contradicting creating continuing |
| 13.) Social Change | What social changes would make those personal changes more possible and overcome the various problems/limits identified above? (now what?)<br>What other social changes would you like to see? (now what?) | sv, sc | all | confirming contradicting creating continuing |
| 14.) Closure | What did you/we learn?<br>Where do we go from here?) (now what?) | eu, en ev, ec | all | confirming contradicting creating continuing |

The "What? So what? Now what?" principle of sequencing (Borton, 1972) provides one useful overlay for looking at the logical flow of the course as a whole. As mentioned in the discussion of the AOE approach, which also utilizes this principle, "what", "so what" and "now what" are colloquial expressions for what Borton identified as three basic information processing functions -- the sensing or perceiving function through which information is gathered (what?), -- the transforming or conceptualizing function through which generalizations are made and patterns of meaning are found in the information that has been gathered (so what?), -- the acting function through which decisions are made about how to act on the new information and patterns that have been discovered (now what?) In this course, the "information" that is being processed is participants' concept of masculinity, with all of its implications for their male role behavior and attitudes about sexism. Through the logic of the "what/so what/now what" sequence, course members are given the opportunity to identify what that concept is, to analyze how the actualization of that concept affects them and others, and to begin to develop and to put into practice a new concept of masculinity.

As indicated on Chart 11, the course can be divided into three main sections, each basically addressing one of the three questions: What? (sessions 1-4), So what? (sessions 5-11), and Now what? (sessions 12-14) More specifically, the "what" in

this case is: -- What is traditional masculinity? -- How have the norms of traditional masculinity affected course participants as individuals? Thus the first four sessions of the course are devoted to identifying and exploring the norms of masculinity, the ways those norms were learned by members of the group, and some aspects of their behavior and personality that were shaped by those norms. Within the basic "what" of this first section is therefore a first "so what?": How did those norms affect the people in the group?

The basic "so what?" addressed in sessions 5-11 is really: -- How do those "masculine" qualities affect and relate to our relationships with women and with other men? -- How do those qualities support and how are they supported by institutionalized sexism? -- How do those qualities relate to and support racism, classism, and other forms of oppression?

Some "now what?" questions are considered, in the course of considering each of these topics individually, but in the final three sessions the "now what?" question becomes paramount: -- What do you/we want to do about what you/we have learned? -- What kinds of personal and social changes do you/we want to work for? How?

<u>The domains of male identity</u>: There is a clear relationship between the "what? so what" now what?" sequence and the identity domains. The qeustions and content of the "what" section (sessions 1-4) focus primarily on the "self" identity domain, helping people to identify how the norms of

masculinity have affected their personal qualities, but without at this point considering the effect of those qualities on their interactions with others and on their social context. The course begins with a focus on the self domain not only because it was rated at the highest interest level by participants, but also because it can provide a good foundation for looking at the other domains through the concrete and specific identification of norms and personal effects.

Within the "so what" section (sessions 5-11), the focus is on the men and women, men and men, and man and society domains, with a consideration of how the "what" of masculinity affects people in these areas.

Finally, in the "now what" section, all of the domains share the focus as the course emphasizes the question of what to do about what has been learned.

Goals: In terms of the outcome goals of autonomy, androgeny, awareness, and activism, two important implications of the pedagogical model are that (1) all of the goals are supposed to be promoted; and (2) in certain domains, certain goals are more likely to develop. The chart indicates that both of these points are attended to in the design. In terms of the categorizations of the primary goals of each session, autonomy and awareness receive the most mention (ten times each), and are mentioned in regard to every domain, probably because autonomy from sex role prescriptions and awareness of the causes and effects of sexism are really necessary conditions for change in

every domain. Consistent with the pedagogical model, the chart also indicates that androgyny is more likely to develop in the self and men and men domains, and activism in the men and women, and men and society domains. During the last three sessions, in which all of the domains are equally emphasized, the interrelationship between the goals are emphasized as well.

It should be remembered, however, that any of the outcomes could be developed in any of the sessions, depending on people's connection to the issue and on the dynamics of the discussion and the interpersonal processing that go on in the class. While certain outcomes may be more likely given the primary focus of a particular session, participants are inevitably called upon in each session to examine their attitudes and behaviors, and connections are inevitably made between one domain and the others and between one goal and the others.

Learning environments/teaching process: The categorizations of the primary emphasis of the learning environment of each session provides another theoretical overlay for looking at the basic flow of the teaching process of the course as a whole, and at how each individual domain is explored. Consistent with the pedagogical model, the course offers all four kinds of learning environments in the examination of each domain. In terms of the design as a whole, the course begins with the creation of a confirming environment that is maintained for its duration, and gradually adds on and emphasizes in turn the contradicting, creating, and continuing functions.

Exploration of each individual domain also begins in a confirming and then contradicting environment, after which the creating function is added. Finally, during the last three sessions when the "now what" questions are considered and the inter-relationships between the various domains and goals explored, the continuation environment is provided to help participants integrate their learnings and changes into the rest of their lives.

Stages of development in each domain: A final variable affecting the implementation of the pedagogy, participants' stages of identity development in each domain, is not included in the overview chart because no simple correlation of sessions and stages of development can be made. Instead, the basic questions of each session and in each domain can be dealt with and responded to by participants at whatever level of identity development they are at.

While this flexibility of response therefore makes any strong correlations of sessions, strategies, and stages of development impossible, there are nonetheless some comments that can and should be made about what levels of identity development this course design is primarily geared to. With a group such as this that includes men at acceptance and resistance levels of development, as well as a few in or near a redefinition phase, it is necessary to begin the exploration of a given issue or domain with questions and contradictions

that will engage and challenge those at each level. Therefore, in order to insure meeting the needs of those at an acceptance level, the course, particularly at the beginning, puts a heavy emphasis on the "what" and "so what" questions of identifying the problem (masculinity) and its relationship to sexism. For those already aware of the problem, and of some of its causes and effects, and looking for new more positive ways to define themselves (i.e., those at redefinition), some of this early focus may seem boring and irrelevant. As the focus shifts to ways of responding to the problems identified, the course becomes more relevant for those at the resistance and redefinition stages, and perhaps less relevant for those at the acceptance level. This shifting emphasis seems inevitable in working with a heterogeneous group, but it is important to point out once again that despite this limitation, there is room within the design as a whole and within each session for each participant to make sense of and respond to the material at their own level and in terms of their own needs. This flexibility will become clearer as the basic components of the course and the specific design of each session are explained in more depth in the sections that follow.

## Basic Components of Each Class Session and of the Course

Having provided in Chart 11 and the discussion that fol lowed an overview of the course design and an analysis of its

relationship to the pedagogical model, it will be useful at this point to examine the course, the teaching process, and its relationship to the model on a more specific session by session basis. Such an examination will reveal more fully how the course implements the basic teaching process and how it is geared to the appropriate goals, domains, and stages of development. The first step in that examination will be to present the basic design structure of the typical class session and its relationship to the teaching process. Once that generic description of the typical session is accomplished, a specific session by session analysis will be presented.

Below, an outline of a typical class session is presented with (in parentheses next to it) the kind of learning environment that activity is intended to create (the primary learning environment is underlined). Following this outline, each component and its categorization will be explained more fully.

Outline of a typical class agenda

- agenda review (confirming)
- check-ins (confirming, contradicting, creating)
- main activity (contradicting and/or creating)
  (structured activity)
  (presentation)
  (discussion of readings)
- check-outs/interpersonal processing (contradicting, creating, continuing)

Outside of class

- journals (confirming, contradicting, creating, continuing)
- learning papers "
- readings (contradicting, creating)

The agenda review with which each session starts involves the facilitator presenting a proposed agenda for the day, checking out with the group if it meets their needs, and perhaps presenting alternative activities or procedures to choose from. This review can serve a confirming function by providing the safety that comes with knowing what will be happening, and by sharing with the group some power and responsibility for planning the session, thereby giving participants more control over their educational experience.

Check-ins provide a way of beginning the group discussion by giving each participant an opportunity to "check-in" by expressing some feelings or thoughts he is bringing into the group with him. Those feelings and thoughts may involve issues in one's life from outside the group, concerns relating to the process of the group itself, or ideas and reactions about the topic of the day. The facilitator, or other group members can suggest the particular focus of the daily check-ins; it can begin with an expression of how people are feeling in the here and now, or with how their week was since the last session.

Whatever specific form the check-in takes, it will serve

a confirming function by helping participants to bring themselves and their real feelings and concerns into the group and by helping people to get to know each other. In the process, feelings of safety and trust develop. Depending on what people share and express, the check-ins can potentially serve a contradicting function if people introduce thoughts and feelings that create dissonance for others in the group; and a creating function through the modelling of the "expressive" functions of personal sharing and self-disclosure, and through some of the ideas that might be expressed.

The main activity provides the heart of each session, during which the basic questions and problems are posed and explored. The experiential activities, assigned readings, and presentations of material can be thought of as, in Freire's terms, "codifications", which, as they are analyzed and decoded, can help people find some of the answers to those problems and questions. These activities can therefore serve a contradicting and a creating function, depending both on the nature of the activity and on what the participants need from it. In other words, an activity that for some participants might raise contradictions and create some cognitive or emotional dissonance, might for others offer the means to resolve those contradictions through new cognitive frameworks or social visions.

Finally, the check-outs/interpersonal processing can

provide participants with an opportunity to share their thoughts and feelings about any conclusions and insights they are leaving the session with, about any evaluation of the class structure and process, and about the way in which they have been interacting as a group. During the early class sessions, participants are given a list of "processing" questions (see Appendix A-25) to help focus the processing on interpersonal feedback, and on introspection about one's interpersonal style and its relationship to sex role socialization.

These various forms of interpersonal processing that go on in the group can potentially provide a means for participants to work not only on themselves, but also on the various issues involved in male - male relationships. Thus, this processing aspect of the course can by itself provide a means to work on the male - male context of men's identity, and in a mixed gender group, on man - woman relationships as well, and to discover and try out the qualities they might need, most likely expressive "feminine" qualities, to help them improve those relationships.

Finally, the check-outs can help to create a <u>continuing</u> environment by encouraging participants to draw conclusions from their experience and to integrate those conclusions into their evolving frame of reference on the issue.

Another important aspect of the course is writing oustide

of class time, which involved journal writing and learning papers. Complete descriptions of these components are included in Appendix A. The journals, in brief, ask students to express their ongoing interior monologue of thoughts and feelings about men and masculinity in response to the class and the outside readings. The learning papers, and the final paper, which are assigned at four critical junctures of the course, ask participants to integrate and synthesize the learning they have been doing about the topics discussed, and about themselves as group members.

Both the journal and the learning paper can potentially contribute to all four kinds of learning environments. They can be confirming in helping participants to articulate and express their own thoughts and feelings about the issue; they can be contradicting and creating in helping participants to discover inconsistencies in their thinking and perhaps come to more satisfactory conclusions; they can provide continuity by helping participants to integrate their experiences and learnings into their ongoing lives and larger world view.

## Session by Session Course Description

Having described the basic logical flow of the course and its relationship to the pedagogical model, the generic design of a typical class session, and the function of the basic course components, it will now be appropriate to describe in more

detail the purposes and procedures of each specific class session. The following points, some of which were included in the overview chart (Chart 11) will be included in this description.

Chart 12: Information Included in Course Session Descriptions

- key questions asked/problems posed:
- emphasis of learning environment: confirming, contradicting creating, continuing

  (if one environmental emphasis is primary, it will be underlined)

- key goal(s): autonomy (au), androgyny (an), awareness (aw), activism (ac)
- key identity domain(s): self, rel. w/women, rel. w/men, society
- procedures: (a listing of the strategies and activities used including, where appropriate, assigned readings and writing projects. The procedures unique to each session [those marked with an asterisk (*)] are described in detail in the appendix. The ongoing activities were described in the previous section.)

  (Next to each procedure is also an indication of the kind of learning environment it is designed to create. The environments are abbreviated as follows: confirming (conf.), contradicting (contr.), creating (cre.), continuing (contin.). If one learning environment is primary, it is underline. In Chart correlations of each activity with specific teaching principles are provided.

- explanation: (of these categorizations and of the purpose of the session in response to the needs of the group.)

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## Session I: Introduction

key questions/problems: What is this course about?

What do you want to get out of it?

environmental emphasis: confirming

key goal(s): au

key domain(s): all

Procedures

-pre-tests (see chapter 6)

-introductions*

- -self-introductions (conf.)
- -name game (conf.)
- -syllabus review (conf.)
- -guidelines, norms for communication (conf.)

-paired sharing* (conf., contr.)

-hopes and fears* (conf.)

Explanation:

The purpose of this introductory session is three-fold: to give participants a sense of what the course is going to be about and how it will be run, to assess some

of the concerns, interests, and qualities of the participants, and to begin to build group trust and safety by helping people to get to know each other. Most of the activities are therefore designed to share or gather information, or to create a confirming environment.

## SESSION II: GROWING UP MALE I

key questions/problems: What messages did you/we learn about how to be a man?

When/how did we learn them?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting

key goal(s): au

key domain(s): self

Procedures

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre.)

-discussion of readings/related personal memories (conf., contr.)

-guided memory/pictorial history of sex roles* (conf., contr.)

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned readings:

In J. Pleck (ed.) Men and Masculinity, pp. 1-21.

In D. David and R. Brannon eds., The 49% Majority, pp. 235-264.

Explanation

The purposes of this session are to continue building group trust and support while participants

identify lessons they learned about how to be a man, and which of those lessons they internalized. The exercises are designed to help people to engage in a process of identifying and sharing experiences of their own male socialization. In the process, people can recognize, if they haven't already, the extent to which masculinity is a learned social role and not an inherited set of characteristics, and also begin identifying how they are playing out that role, both in and outside of the group. Greater awareness of that role and how it has shaped them can lead to greater autonomy from sex role demands and more awareness of their options. In helping people to make these personal conclusions, the activities can be used with men at various levels of awareness and sophistication. Because several participants were discovered to already have a high level of awareness about sexism, and to already be in the process of redefining themselves as men, the exercise on a pictorial history of sex roles (see Appendix A7, for example) was adapted to include people's experiences in learning traditional masculinity, but also experiences that helped them to develop an alternative definition of masculinity and themselves.

## SESSION III: GROWING UP MALE II

key questions/problems: How did the messages about how to be a man affect you/us?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting

key goal(s): au, aw

key domain(s): self

### Procedures

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre.)

-role model interviews* (contr.)

-presentation: the male sex role* (contr., cre.)

-discussion of presentation and readings: personal connections (contr.)

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned readings:

R. Brannon, "The Male Sex Role," in The 49% Majority, pp. 1-49.

Learning paper #1 assigned:* "The Male Role and Me"

### Explanation

In this session, participants are offered a conceptual schema for understanding and summarizing the male

sex role. The exercises and discussion aim to help them to identify further how they have learned and played out male role demands, both in the present contexts of the group and their life outside of it. With the male role expectations clarified, interpersonal processing can begin to be analyzed from that perspective. As participants identify how the role expectations effect them and their characteristics, their degree of autonomy and androgyny can increase. Once again, because participants can make personal connections to the material at whatever level they are at, the activities are appropriate for all group members.

## SESSION IV: MEN, EMOTIONS, AND SELF-DISCLOSURE

key questions/problems: What messages did you/we learn about how men should deal with feelings? How do those messages affect you/us?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting

key goal(s): au, an

key domain(s): self

Procedures

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre.)

-discussion of readings: personal connections (contr., cre.)

-recorded music, "You Don't Know Me," by Geoff Morgan* (contr.)

- fishbowl processing of reactions to song* (contr.)

-brainstorm: Commandments to Men About Feelings (contr.)

-discussion/processing: How do those commandments affect people now, in and out of the group? (contr.)

-benefits/costs of these ways of dealing with feelings* (contr., cre.)

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned readings:

S. Jourard, "Some Lethal Aspects of the Male Role," in Men and Masculinity.

W. Farrell, "The Politics of Vulnerability," in 49% Majority.

J. Balswick, "The Inexpressive Male," in 49% Majority.

Explanation

It was decided to devote an entire session to this topic for three reasons: several members of the group indicated it as a primary concern, this area of male socialization has such important implications for how men can relate to other people, and dealing with this issue could help the group to focus and work on the level of communication and sharing in the group itself. Activities were designed to help participants to focus attention on their patterns of interaction and self-disclosure in the group, to provide new cognitive input on the kinds of male norms and behavior that might be effecting that interaction, to begin to assess the cost of those behaviors both within and outside of the group, and thus to set the stage for experimentation with new behavior. In so doing, men can gain more motivation to change and perhaps become more expressive in their behavior, a change which for most men would make them more androgynous.

## SESSION V: THE DYNAMICS OF OPPRESSION

key questions/problems: What are the dynamics of oppression?

How does the male role relate to sexism/oppression?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting, creating

key goal(s): aw

key domain(s): relationships with men, relationships with women

### Procedure

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (Conf., contr. cre.)

-presentation: the dynamics of oppression: dominant/subordinant roles* (Contr. cre.)

-personal connections to the presentation

-group discussion: the male role and male privilege: What are the connections? (contr., cre.)

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned readings:

J.B. Miller, Toward a New Psychology of Women, ch. 1,2.

### Explanation

With participants having identified male role

norms and some of the effects of those norms on them and their behavior, this session attempts to help participants to see how that role and those behaviors fit into and are a product of sexist oppression. Therefore, a model of oppression is presented that can be used to help one understand the dynamics of men's relationships and men's roles in society. This model can, in Freire's terms, serve as a basic "codification" which in each succeeding session will be decodified in regard to the particular issue and particular aspect of men's lives being explored, issues concerning men's relationships with women, men's relationships with other men, and men's position in regard to issues of class and race. The key goal of this session is therefore to increase men's awareness of the dynamics of sexism. Interpersonal processing, with its possible impact on autonomy and androgyny continues.

## SESSION VI: MAN-WOMAN RELATIONSHIPS AND THE DYNAMICS OF OPPRESSION

key questions/problems: What have been some of the problems and limits in participants' relationships with women?

How do sex role stereotypes and issues of dominance/subordinance help you to understand those problem/limits?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting, creating

key goal(s): au, aw

key domain(s): rel. with women

Procedure

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre.)

-relationship survey* (contr.)

-discussion: How do sex roles and issues of dom/sub affect those relationships? (Contr., cre.)

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned readings:

J.B. Miller, Toward a New Psychology of Women, chap. 3.

K. Millett, "Theory of Sexual Politics," In Sexual Politics.

Learning Paper #2 assigned:* Men and Women

Explanation

In this session, activities are designed to help participants to identify problems and limits in their man-woman relationships, and then to see the connections between these problems and issues of oppression and sex role stereotyping. For those who have identified this area as their central concern, this can be a key session for helping them to identify these connections between their problems in relating, common male and female personality patterns, and issues of power and privilege. The assigned readings help to provide the conceptual schema that can help people to make these connections. Increased awareness of these connections can lead to increased autonomy in one's behavior as participants see the connection between their personal patterns and the political context that helped to create and support them and the sex role stereotyped socialization that perpetuates them. Interpersonal processing, with its possible impact on autonomy and androgyny, continues.

## SESSION VII: MALE SEXUALITY

key questions/problems: How do issues of dominance and subordinance affect male sexuality? Your sexuality?

What would you like to change about how you express your sexuality?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting, creating

key goal(s): au, an, aw, ac

key domain(s): relationships with men, rel. with women

Procedure

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre.)

-recording: "The Penis Song," by G. Morgan*

-discussion: focusing on above questions, based on song, readings, and personal experience, and interpersonal processing (contr., cre.)

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned readings:

J. Litewka, "The Socialized Penis," in For Men Against Sexism, ed. by J. Snodgrass.

J. Stoltenberg, "Sexual Objectification and Male Supremacy."

L. Rubin, "The Marriage Bed."

B. Kolopeli and G. Lakey, "More Power Than We Want: Masculine Sexuality and Violence."

Explanation

The purpose of this session is to help people make connections, on the intellectual and personal levels, between male sexuality and issues of oppression - dominance/subordinance. In this session, the readings, along with a recorded song, play a key role in presenting new conceptualizations and providing examples from personal experience for people to respond to. Since the issue is usually of great concern to participants, as it was in this case, no other strategies or activities were necessary. Discussion can focus on whatever concerns about sexuality are most important to the participants. As discussion moves along, the focus can shift from identifying/analyzing the problem to what people would like to do differently. Since insights and changes can relate to interpersonal behavior patterns as well as political/social forms of domination and socialization, all four key outcomes (au, an, aw, ac) can be promoted. While the interpersonal processing in the group provides an ongoing focus on people's behavior and how they might like to change it, the issue of change in regard to responding to sexist oppression is raised for

the first time. With that focus, the needs of those at resistance and redefinition stages in regard to this topic are addressed more fully.

## SESSION VIII: VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

key questions/problems: Why are men violent against women?

What can we do about it?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting, creating

key goal(s): au, aw, ac

key domain(s): relationships with women

Procedure

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre.)

-male violence: guided memory about a personal experience* (contr.)

-presentation: violence as a continuum* (contr., cre.)

-recorded song, "Stop It," by G. Morgan* (contr., cre.)

-discussion/dialogue focusing on the two questions posed above (contr., cre.)

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned readings:

"How Pornography Shackles Men and Oppresses Women" in For Men Against Sexism, ed. by J. Snodgrass.

"Standing on the Corner" by G. Blair (handout).

"Notes on Male Heterosexuality and Power" by M. Novick (handout).

"What's Behind Wife-Beating?" by M. Carson (handout).

Explanation

With the preceding sessions on issues of oppression and male sexuality, the groundwork has been laid for helping participants to see the dynamics of violence against women, and to find some of the roots of it in male socialization. The session begins by looking at violence in general, and at personal experiences as a victim or perpetrator of male violence, in order to help participants to see the connection of the issue to themselves. After that, the two questions posed above are explored through reflection on that experience and on the assigned reading, which offers some cognitive frameworks to help people to understand the issue. Through this process, participants can increase their awareness of the social/political causes of the problem, their personal connection to it, and with that develop more autonomy in regard to their personal behavior. For those at an acceptance level in this domain, the session can provide more contradictions to help move them along. For those at redefinition and resistance, the perspectives offered can provide other contradictions that can help them to identify new ways of responding to the issue and of defining themselves. Interpersonal processing, with its possible impact on autonomy and androgyny, continues.

## SESSION IX: MEN RELATING TO MEN: THE BARRIERS TO INTIMACY

key questions/problems: What are the barriers to male-male intimacy?

How are those barriers affecting us in here?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting, creating

key goal(s): au, aw

key domain(s): relationships with men.

Procedure

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., contin.)

-thumb-wrestling* (contr.)

-presentation/discussion: barriers to male-male intimacy* (contr., cre.)

-discussion/processing: How have these barriers been effecting interaction in the group? (Contr., cre.)

Assigned readings:

"My Male Sex Role and Ours" by J. Pleck in 49% Majority, pp. 253-264.

"Male Homophobia" by S. Morin and E. Garfinkle (Handout from Gayspeak) J. Cheesbro

"About a Month Ago" by Michael C. in Men and Masculinity.

Explanation

In this first of two sessions dealing directly with this issue (the whole course deals with it on a process level in helping people examine the interpersonal group dynamics), the barriers to male-male intimacy are identified and related to interaction in the group. After an experiential activity designed to accentuate and highlight these issues, a conceptual presentation on the barriers is offered, followed by an application of that framework to people's experience in the group. The identification of competition and homophobia as the major barriers lays the groundwork for relating problems in male relationships to oppression of gays and lesbians, and to the economic and institutional structures that force men to compete with each other. As in all of the sessions, grounding the discussion in people's personal experience can enable all participants to engage in it at their own level of awareness and identity development. Increased awareness of the causes and effects of these barriers can help all men in the group to increase their autonomy from sex role prescriptions about how they should relate to other men.

## SESSION X: MEN RELATING TO MEN: OVERCOMING THE BARRIERS

key questions/problems: How can we overcome the barriers? In general? In the group?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting, creating

key goal(s): au, an, aw, ac

key domain(s): relationships with men

Procedure

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre.)

-discussion/dialogue: What can be done? (Drawn from readings and personal experience) (cre.)

-making changes: personal goal setting* (contr., cre.)

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned reading:

Book review on Men to Men

"My Own Men's Liberation" by J. Keith in Men and Masculinity.

"Homosexual Encounter in All Male Groups" by D. Clark in Men and Masculinity.

Readings on "The Heterosexual Assumption" and "Internalized Oppression" from No Turning Back: Lesbian and Gay Lib for the 80's.

Learning paper #3 assigned: Men and Men

Explanation

Having identified the problem, the stage is now set to identify and perhaps try out actions to overcome the barriers. Since in regard to this issue, actions and changes can be carried out within the group itself, participants can be encouraged to identify new behaviors that they would like to try out in the group context. The readings can help people to see the connection between overcoming these barriers and dealing with other forms of oppression, including heterosexism, classism, and racism. (In session XI, more will be done on those connections.) The emphasis on change and action can lead to increases in androgyny and anti-sexist activism. Participants' levels of identity development in this domain will help determine the kinds of changes they would like to make. Interpersonal processing, with its possible impact on autonomy and androgyny, continues.

## SESSION XI: MEN, CLASS AND RACE

key questions/problems: How do racism and classism affect you? Men in general?

How do classism and racism connect to and support sexism? How are they supported by sexism?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting, creating

key goal(s): aw

key domain(s): society (class, race)

Procedure

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre.)

-presentation: classism, racism, and sexism* (contr., cre.)

-personal experiences

-discussion/dialogue: What are the connections? (Contr., cre.)

-check-outs/processing: (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned readings:

"Men and Class" from The Women Say the Men Say. (Handout)

Book review of White Hero, Black Beast: Racism, Sexism, and Masculinity, P. Hoch.

Explanation

While it is of course impossible to even begin to really answer such questions in one session, it is the purpose of this session to help people to identify some of the effects of classism and racism on them, and to recognize some of the connections of these other forms of oppression to sexism and sex role stereotypes. Participants are helped to identify personal experiences related to these issues, and then, based on a presentation, readings, and personal experience, draw some conclusions about the connections. Hopefully, men most concerned about racism and classism will see their connection to sexism, and vice versa, increasing their critical awareness of the issue. Those at a redefinition stage in this or other domains will probably be more inclined to explore the connections between the contexts and between the various forms of oppression. Interpersonal processing, with its possible impact on autonomy and androgyny, continues.

## SESSION XII: NEW DIRECTIONS: PERSONAL CHANGE

key questions/problems: What changes would participants like to make, are they making, in their way of being a man, relating to men and women, dealing with sexism etc. . . ?

What concrete steps can participants take to begin to make those changes?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting, creating, continuing

key goal(s): au, an, ac

key domain(s): all

Procedure

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

-personal changes: goal setting, action planning* (contr., cre., contin.)

-presentation/discussion: alternative conceptions of masculinity* (contr., cre.)

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre., contin.)

Assigned readings:

"Alternative Conceptions of Masculinity," S. Schapiro (handout)

"On Male Liberation," J. Sawyer; and "Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto" in Men and Masculinity.

"The Feminist Man?" by R. Wetzsten from Women Say, The Men Say (handout)

"Refusing to be a Man," J. Stoltenberg; and "The Effeminist Manifesto" by J. Dansky, in For Men Against Sexism.

"Breaking Free: A Vision of Sexual Liberation" and "A Feminist Perspective for Men' from No Turning Back: Lesbian and Gay Liberation for the 80's.

Explanation

This session begins the final phase of the course, where the primary focus turns to the integration of learnings and to the question: now what? Now that people have learned how traditional masculinity affects them and others, what are they going to do about it? While this question has been dealt with to some extent all along, this session is devoted to helping people to think through, define, and begin planning changes they would like to make in their way of being a man. In the reading and in a class presentation, various alternative conceptions are offered to help people envision what a different kind of masculinity might be like, and to put the changes they envision into a context. With the focus on change, autonomy and androgyny become the key goals, while participants' individual interests and levels of development can determine what kinds of changes they are interested in making. With the new focus on

integrating learnings and planning for the future, a learning environment emphasizing continuity becomes primary for the first time. Interpersonal processing continues.

## SESSION XIII: NEW DIRECTIONS: SOCIAL CHANGE

key questions/problems: What social changes might be necessary to make your personal change goals and visions more possible?

What other social changes would you like to see?

environmental emphasis: confirming, contradicting, creating, continuing

key goal(s): aw, ac

key domain(s): all

Procedure

-agenda review (conf.)

-check-ins (conf., contr., cre.)

-setting goals for social change* (contr., cre., contin.)

-presentation: feminism and social change* (contr., cre.)

- discussion

-check-outs/processing (conf., contr., cre, contin.)

Assigned readings:

"A Critique of the Men's Movement," J. Snodgrass (handout)

"Dancing Along the Precipice: The Men's Movement in the '80's" by J. Interrante

"Men's Power with Women, Other Men, and Society, A

Men's Movement Analysis," J. Pleck.

"Toward Socialist Feminism" by B. Ehrenreich.

"Understanding and Fighting Sexism: A Call to Men" by Blood, Tuttle, and Lakey.

Explanation

The purpose of this session is to help participants to integrate learnings from the course about the connections between the personal and political, between individual sexism and institutional sexism, between individual change and social change, and to come to some insights about these issues. Participants are asked to analyze what social changes would be necessary to deal with the problems they have identified, an integrated analysis of feminism and social change is presented, and already existing social movements working for these changes are described. The primary goals of this session are therefore awareness and activism, with the content of those changes varying with the individual. Interpersonal processing, with its continued possible impact on autonomy and androgyny, continues.

## SESSION XIV: CLOSURE

key questions/problems: What did we learn?
Where do we go from here?

environmental emphasis: confirming, creating, continuing

key goal(s): au, an, aw, ac

key domain(s): all

Procedure

-(post-tests) (see chapter 6)
-appreciations/strength bombardment*
-sharing of key learnings
-course evaluation

Final paper assigned*

Explanation

This session is designed to help participants bring conceptual and interpersonal closure to their experience in the course. Activities are designed to help participants to evaluate their experience in the course, to give final personal feedback to each other, and to think through and share their most significant personal learnings and changes to result from the experience. A final

paper asks participants to integrate all of their learnings and to think through how those learnings will apply to them in the future.

## The Course and the Teaching Principles of the Model

All of the components of the course design have now been described, including the ongoing activities and the strategies specific to each session. The logic of the overall design and the rational and purposes of each session have also been presented. In so doing, the correlation of the design to the what/so what/now what principle of sequencing, and to the confirmation, contradiction, creation, and continuation phases of the teaching process, has been explained. In the session by session description some references were made to specific teaching principles that were being implemented. Up to this point, however, no explanation has been provided of how the pedagogical model as a whole is embodied in this curriculum.

As a first step in providing such an explanation, a chart (Chart 13) is presented on the following pages, indicating which of the teaching principles are embodied in each of the activities and procedures of each class session. The chart therefore presents a graphic representation of how the curriculum implements the principles of the model. In the descriptions of the sessions, the course components, and the specific activities (see Appendix A), explanations have been provided for these categorizations. Following the chart, a brief explanation is also provided as to how the curriculum implements and combines the key principles of the four

CHART 13

The Relationship Between The Teaching Principles and The Course Activities

Part 1

| teaching principles / activities | Ongoing | | | | | Session I | | | Session II | | | Session III | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Learning environment/Teaching Principles | Agenda review | Check-ins | Check-outs | Journal | Learning papers | Introductions | Paired sharing | Hopes and fears | Discussion of readings/ reports | Guided memory/pictorial history | Assigned readings | Role model interview | Presentation: The Male Sex Role | Discussion/dialogue | Assigned Readings |
| 1. Confirmation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Set norms for creating a non-judgemental dialogical communication process. (T, F, CR, AOE) | X | X | X | | | X | | X | | | | | | | |
| b.) Set norms which make the personal experiencing of learners the basic content of discussion. (T, F., CR, AOE) | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | | |
| c.) Structure activities which build trust and dialogue and facilitate personal sharing. (F, CR, AOE) | | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | |
| 2. Contradiction | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Interpersonal processing of here and now behavior in the group. (T) | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| b.) Present new information, definitions, and cognitive organizers re. sex roles and sexism. (AOE) | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | X | X |
| c.) Structure activities through which participants encounter contradictions in their present behavior and consciousness. (CR, AOE) | | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | |
| d.) Problematize - pose limits to man's growth and development as problems to be analyzed and solved. (F) | | | | | X | | | | | | | | X | | |
| 3. Creation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Modelling of alternative interpersonal behaviors. (T) | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| b.) Dialogue/discussion involving an analysis of the causes of limits and problems, and envisioning of alternatives and solutions. (F, CR, AOE) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| c.) Present alternative maps. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| d.) Provide structure for planning actions for personal and social change. | | | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| e.) Praxis - engage participants in action to transform themselves and their society, and in reflection on that action. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Continuity | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Summarizing and synthesizing. (CR, AOE) | | | X | X | X | | | | | X | | | | | |
| b.) Support groups. (F, CR, AOE). | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| c.) Encourage continued praxis. (F) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| d.) Gradual disengagement by the leader. (F) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Educational approaches the principles are derived from:

(T) = T-groups

(F) = Freire's Education for Critical Consciousness

(CR) = Feminist Consciousness Raising Groups

(AOE) = Anti-oppression Education

## CHART 13

The Relationship Between
The Teaching Principles
and The Course Activities

Part 2

activities

| Teaching environment/Teaching Principles | Session IV: Discussion of readings/personal sharing | Session IV: Music: Fishbowl Processing | Session IV: Commandments about feelings | Session IV: Assigned reading | Session V: Presentation : The Dynamics of Oppression | Session V: Discussion/Dialogue | Session V: Assigned Readings | Session VI: Relationship survey | Session VI: Discussion/dialogue | Session VI: Assigned Readings | Session VII: Music: "The Penis Song" | Session VII: Discussion/dialogue | Session VII: Assigned readings | Session VIII: Male violence: guided essay | Session VIII: Music: "Stop It" | Session VIII: Discussion/dialogue | Session VIII: Assigned readings |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Confirmation** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Set norms for creating a non-judgemental dialogical communication process. (T, P, CR, AOE) | | X | X | | | X | | | X | | | X | | | | X | |
| b.) Set norms which make the personal experiencing of learners the basic content of discussion. (T, P., CR, AOE) | | X | X | | | X | | X | X | | | | | X | | X | |
| c.) Structure activities which build trust and dialogue and facilitate personal sharing. (P, CR, AOE) | X | X | X | | | X | | X | X | | | | | X | | X | |
| **2. Contradiction** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Interpersonal processing of here and now behavior in the group. (T) | | X | X | | | | | | X | | | X | | | | | |
| b.) Present new information, definitions, and cognitive organizers re. sex roles and sexism. (AOE) | | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X |
| c.) Structure activities through which participants encounter contradictions in their present behavior and consciousness. (CR, AOE) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| d.) Problematize - pose limits to man's growth and development as problems to be analyzed and solved. (P) | X | X | | | | X | | X | X | | | X | | | X | X | X |
| **3. Creation** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Modelling of alternative interpersonal behaviors. (T) | | X | | | | | | X | X | | X | X | | X | | X | |
| b.) Dialogue/discussion involving an analysis of the causes of limits and problems, and envisioning of alternatives and solutions. (P, CR, AOE) | X | | X | | | X | | | X | | | X | | | | | |
| c.) Present alternative maps. | | | | X | X | | X | X | | X | | | X | | | | X |
| d.) Provide structure for planning actions for personal and social change. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| e.) Praxis - engage participants in action to transform themselves and their society, and in reflection on that action. | | X | | | | | | | X | | | X | | | X | X | |
| **4. Continuity** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Summarizing and synthesizing. (CR, AOE) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| b.) Support groups. (P, CR, AOE) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| c.) Encourage continued praxis. (P) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| d.) Gradual disengagement by the leader. (P) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

teaching principles

CHART 13

# The Relationship Between The Teaching Principles and The Course Activities

Part 3

activities

| teaching principles / Learning environment/Teaching Principles | Session IX | | | Session X | | | Session XI | | | Session XII | | | Session XIII | | | Session XIV | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Thumb-wrestling | Presentation/discussion: barriers to intimacy | Assigned readings | Discussion/dialogue | Personal goal setting | Assigned reading | Presentation | Discussion/dialogue | Assigned reading | Personal goals | Presentation/discussion | Assigned reading | Goals for social change | Presentation/discussion: Feminism & Social Change | Assigned readings | Appreciations | Sharing of learnings | |
| 1. Confirmation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Set norms for creating a non-judgemental dialogical communication process. (T, F, CR, AOE) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| b.) Set norms which asks the personal experiencing of learners the basic content of discussion. (T, F., CR, AOE) | | | | X | | | | X | | | X | | | | | | | |
| c.) Structure activities which build trust and dialogue and facilitate personal sharing. (F, CR, AOE) | | X | | X | | | | X | | | X | | | | | X | | |
| 2. Contradiction | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Interpersonal processing of here and now behavior in the group. (T) | X | X | | X | | | | X | | | | | | | | X | X | |
| b.) Present new information, definitions, and cognitive organizers re. sex roles and sexism. (AOE) | | X | X | | | X | X | | X | | | X | | X | X | | X | |
| c.) Structure activities through which participants encounter contradictions in their present behavior and consciousness. (CR, AOE) | X | X | | X | X | | | X | | | X | | X | X | | X | X | |
| d.) Problematize - pose limits to man's growth and development as problems to be analyzed and solved. (F) | | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| 3. Creation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Modelling of alternative interpersonal behaviors. (T) | X | X | | X | | | | X | | X | | | | | | X | X | |
| b.) Dialogue/discussion involving an analysis of the causes of limits and problems, and envisioning of alternatives and solutions. (F, CR, AOE) | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| c.) Present alternative maps. | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| d.) Provide structure for planning actions for personal and social change. | | | | X | X | | | | | X | X | | X | X | | | | |
| e.) Praxis - engage participants in action to transform themselves and their society, and in reflection on that action. | | | | X | X | | | | | X | X | | X | X | | | | |
| 4. Continuity | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a.) Summarizing and synthesizing. (CR, AOE) | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | X | X | | | X | |
| b.) Support groups. (F, CR, AOE) | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | X | | | X | | |
| c.) Encourage continued praxis. (F) | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | X | | | | X | |
| d.) Gradual disengagement by the leader. (F) | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | X | | | | X | |

educational approaches upon which the pedagogy is based: T-groups, Freire's education for critical consciousness, feminist consciousness raising groups, and anti-oppression education.

The chart clearly indicates that all of the teaching principles are implemented in the design. It also graphically illustrates that in regard to the four basic categories of teaching principles, that emphasis gradually shifts from confirmation, to contradiction, to creation, to continuity, although all of the functions are to some extent in each of the sessions.

By combining and integrating principles from the four approaches, the course is able to present a curriculum that combines the personal and the political, that attempts to foster personal growth along with socio-political awareness and a commitment to political activism. A brief review of how principles from each of the approaches are embodied in the course design will make clearer how the course implements the pedagogy. Before beginning that review, it is important to note, however, that it is meant as a summary and not as a full explanation of how these approaches can be integrated into the pedagogy. A full discussion of how principles from these approaches can be integrated into a men's consciousness raising program was provided in Chapter Four.

To begin that review, all of the approaches share an

emphasis on the creation of a safe and confirming environment, and the principles in that category are all clearly implemented in the activities of the first few sessions. Most of the activities used in those sessions attempt to create appropriate norms, encourage personal sharing, and build group trust and cohesion.

Principles drawn from the T-group approach emphasizing a here and now focus, self-disclosure, feedback, and experimentation with new behavior are utilized in all phases of the check-in and check-out activities and in other structured activities emphasizing interpersonal processing. Once that kind of processing begins, it becomes an integral part of the course experience as a whole. As participants experience dissonance in regard to some of their interpersonal behaviors and experiment with new behavior, input on sex roles and sexism can put the personal issues into a political framework.

The course as a whole is organized around the Freirian process of dialogue, problem-posing, decodification, analysis, and praxis. The key questions of each section can be seen as the problems being posed to the group. Through readings, presentations, and discussions, these various questions about masculinity are problematized -- posed as problems to be solved. Through discussion and dialogue in each session, the basic questions asked about each identity domain become more narrowly focused as individuals change their behavior and begin to work toward social changes that will support their new

conception of masculinity and appropriate male roles.

Principles about personal sharing and generalizing from personal experience, drawn from the feminist consciousness raising approach, are also embodied in the basic format of the course and in the many activities that involve personal sharing, the discovery of general themes and patterns, and the exploration of personal experience from the perspective of male role socialization and the dynamics of sexism. In combination with Freire's problematizing, dialogue, and praxis, these principles can be used to help participants to recognize the connections between the personal and the political.

Finally, the many structured experiential activities and presentations of conceptual frameworks used in the course are based on principles articulated in the anti-oppression approach. Through the use of structured activities and presentations, a facilitator can guide the consciousness raising process by focusing attention on particular issues and by helping participants to discover certain contradictions. Direction of the consciousness raising process through the application of these principles leaves less to chance than do the other more organic and student centered approaches. The anti-oppression approach also provided the framework -- the phases of confirmation, contradiction, and continuation -- that were used to integrate the principles drawn from the other approaches.

## Problems in Implementation and Suggestions for Varying the Design

This course description has provided an illustration of how the pedagogical model for men's consciousness raising developed in Chapter Four could be used in the design and and implementation of a course on "men and masculinity". The description demonstrates how the course aims to help men become more autonomous, androgynous, aware, and active; how it embodies all of the key elements of the teaching process outlined in Chart 6; and how the domains of male identity and the stages of male identity development inform and relate to the choice of the content and the focus of the curriculum.

The development and description of the curriculum also illustrate, however, some aspects of the model that were difficult to implement. The course as described was designed for a group with a distribution of primary interest in all four domains, and with a wide range of qualities and characteristics. In working with a group of men at diverse levels of identity development in all of the domains, it was difficult to make each session equally engaging and relevant to men at all levels. In order to insure engaging those at the acceptance level, the first part of the course especially was probably not as relevant as it could have been for those strongly into a stage of resistance, or even less for those at redefinition.

Another difficulty brought on by working with such a diverse group was the necessity of moving fairly quickly from one domain to another to insure covering all of them and engaging all of the participants in a meaningful way. This practice at times inevitably cut off some exploration and growth for those strongly interested in one domain and not others.

Perhaps these problems are inevitable in working with a diverse group, but the model did not seem to offer a satisfactory way of always meeting everyone's needs since one domain was focused on at a time. Even more flexibility and individuation might be necessary, perhaps through sub-grouping, individual projects, or other design changes that would allow participants to explore the issues of most concern to them.

Despite these problems, however, it is important to point out that the design as presented is already very adaptable for use with a wide variety of groups because the actual content of the discussion and dialogue of each class session will come from and be based on the needs, sentiments, and concerns of the particular group involved. In that sense, the design provides a structure to facilitate the exploration of the issues; the specific content of the exploration will be supplied by the group itself.

The other semester that the course was offered, for instance, the same basic design was used, despite the fact that the group included three women along with thirteen men. The adaptations for a mixed gender group involved simply posing questions that women could relate to themselves and their experience, or to men they have known. The addition of women to the group also make it possible to focus on issues of man-women relationships within the group itself, although, on the other hand, this made it less possible to focus on man-man relationships. Thus, something was gained and something was lost, but since this group also expressed a balance of interests in all four identity domains, and exhibited a full range of personal qualities, a similar design was used.

In a more homogeneous group, some of the problems noted above could of course be avoided, and the design could also be altered. In a group with a very strong and dominant interest in one domain as opposed to others, for instance, it could be possible to spend more sessions on that issue while eliminating some others. The other domains can be brought in as they relate to the one of primary concern. While the last three sessions on the "now what" of new directions and closure should probably stay the same, sessions 2-11 could be done in a different order, or some expanded on and others left out, depending on the primary interests of the group. In a group in which most if not

all of the members came in with a sophisticated awareness about sex roles and sexism, and were primarily in the resistance and redefinition stages of identity development, more time could be spent on the "so what" and "now what" questions, and less time on the "what".

Whatever the changes are that are made in the design, the important point to keep in mind is to meet the group where it is and to be sure to provide the kinds of experiences that can join with and challenge every member of the group. Since most self-selected groups in an open enrollment course are likely to be at least somewhat heterogeneous, a general and inclusive design such as that described will usually be most applicable, despite the problems that have been pointed out. In the next section of this chapter, the degree of success of the course as described in meeting its objectives will be reported.

## Course Evaluation

The purpose of this section is to report on an informal evaluation that was carried out to assess the effectiveness of the pedagogy for men's consciousness raising as implemented in the course men and masculinity in meeting its objectives: the enhancement in its male participants of the four "new male" qualities as defined: autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism. This section has two main sub-sections. First, the procedure used to assess the development of the qualities is described. Secondly, findings are reported and discussed. In the chapter to follow this one, these findings will be interpreted.

### Procedure

The procedure for this informal evaluation included both quantitative and qualitative assessment tools. The quantitative measures were two pre and post standardized tests, the Women's Liberation Scale (Goldberg, 1976) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaires (Spence, Helmreich, 1974). The qualitative measures included an essay-type questionnaire (pre and post), written material by participants such as learning papers and course evaluations, and instructor obser-

vations. Assessment data were collected from the 26 students enrolled in the "men and masculinity" course at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst during the spring and fall semesters of 1983. Procedures involved in the implementation of that course were described in the previous chapter.

This evaluation is based on a field experiment approach to research in which conditions and variables cannot be controlled as they are in a laboratory situation. The limitations of this sort of research as carried out in this study include the small size of the sample, the difficulty of controlling variables, the lack of a control group, and the inability to isolate and identify exactly what variable caused what changes. Because this is an exploratory pilot study, however, this evaluation is not designed to obtain rigorous experimental data, but rather to gather information that will be useful in gaining an initial indication as to whether or not the course is achieving its desired results.

The strength of this type of field experiment research lies in its usefulness in bridging the gap between theory and practice - that is, in providing those in applied work with the needed insight and assistance to assess the effectiveness of their interventions, giving them the sort of information they can use to modify and improve the theories upon which those interventions are based. The implications of the findings

for modifying the theory and pedagogical model upon which the course is based will be discussed in chapter 6.

A full description of the evaluation procedures follows. The measures used to assess change in each of the target qualities - autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism is described, and an explanation presented as to how the data was analyzed.

1) Means for Evaluating Androgyny (as defined on page 75).

a) Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1976) (See Appendix B-1)

The complete Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) consists of two parts, a self-rating self-concept scale which measures masculinity and femininity, and a stereotype scale, which measures sex role stereotypes. Only the self-rating scale was used in this study. In the short form of that scale, which was used, respondents were asked to rate themselves on a series of 24 5 point rating scales (the full scale consists of 55 items). The ends of each scale are labelled with brief descriptive phrases (i.e.:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all Aggressive | A | B | C | D | E | Very Aggressive). |

Each of three sub-scales consists of eight such items. These sub-scales are: (a) masculinity (M-V) consisting of instrumental traits that are stereotypically regarded as being mascu-

line and are to some degree positively valued in men and women; (b) feminity (F-V) - consisting of expressive qualities that are stereotypically regarded as feminine and that are to some degree positively valued in both men and women; (c) sex specific (S-S) - consisting of qualities which are stereotypically regarded as either masculine or feminine and valued only in members of that gender.

Four scores can be obtained from this self-rating PAQ:

1) On the total self rating scale, a high score indicates greater masculinity - that is, greater correlation to what have been described in the formation of the test as stereotypically masculine qualities. In addition to the total self-score, scores can be obtained for each of the subscales described above.

2) A masculinity score, based on stereotypically masculine qualities valued in both men and women.

3) A femininity score, based on stereotypically feminine qualities valued in both men and women.

4) A sex specific score, based on qualities valued in one gender but not the other.

According to the instructions accompanying the test, respondents who score above the group median on both the masculinity and femininity sub-scales are classified as androgynous; those scoring below the median on both as

undifferentiated; above the median on femininity only as feminine; and above the median on masculinity only as masculine. Therefore, while Bem, who published the first androgyny scale (Bem, 1973) classified people as androgynous on the basis of the balance between their scores on masculinity and femininity (at a high, medium, or low level of each), Spence et al. suggest that the androgynous label should be reserved for those who score high on masculinity and femininity and therefore possess a high degree of those "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics that are valued in members of both genders. This latter method of classification (with which Bem now agrees, (Bem, 1976) is consistent with the definition of androgyny being used in this study; having a balance of highly valued instrumental and expressive qualities. Therefore, the PAQ rather than the BEM scale was chosen as a means to measure this quality.

Analyzing the PAQ data:

While the notion of a balance of highly valued masculine and feminine qualities may be a useful definition of androgyny, the means suggested by Spence et al. for classifying people as "androgynous," "masculine," "feminine," or "undifferentiated," do not seem to be entirely appropriate for measuring growth toward androgyny in an individual or group. Using their suggested median split technique for assessing whether

M-V and F-V scores are high or low relative to the other members of a group being tested, those with F-V and M-V scores above the median are classified as androgynous. Using that method of analysis, as the mean M and F scores changed, the median split point for categorizing scores as high or low would change as well, and if the group as a whole become more M-V and F-V, and in that sense more androgynous, such changes would not be indicated through this measure of classification.

It seems preferable to use some absolute cut-off in the M-V and F-V scores to indicate a high or low degree of that quality, but no such scale has been determined. This test can therefore not yield a satisfying rating system for classifying people absolutely as androgynous or not androgynous. It can, however, measure growth toward a more androgynous and less stereotypical self-definition by indicating changes in the M-V, F-V, and masculine stereotype scores.

In this study, scores obtained from this test have therefore been analyzed as follows: Respondents' pre and post test scores were compared in order to assess changes in: (1) total self-score - correlation with stereotypic masculine qualities, (2) femininity - possession of positively valued feminine qualities, and (3) masculinity - possession of highly valued masculine qualities. Those changes were in turn

interpreted as follows: With androgyny defined as it is in this study - a high degree of highly valued masculine and feminine qualities - increases in either the F-V or M-V scores, or both, could indicate growth toward a more androgynous self-description, depending on what scores the individual started with. Since most men start with much higher M-V than F-V scores, increases in the F-V scores would be most likely to indicate growth toward androgyny. Decreases in the total self score (masculine stereotype) would indicate increased autonomy from the traditional male stereotype. Pre and post test scores were also compared on an item by item basis in order to ascertain which specific qualities changed the most in the group as a whole.

A T-test for correlated means was performed for each of the scores used in order to determine the significance of the difference in the pre and post test scores.

Data published with the test indicate a high degree of internal consistency and test-retest reliability. Alpha coefficients for the total self scores were .91 for men and .90 for women. In test-retest data, the r's were .92 for men and .98 for women (Spence, et al., p. 11).

b) Written material of participants

Student papers were examined for evidence of self-perceived increases in expressive (feminine) behavior and

characteristics, and decreases in the negatively valued masculine behaviors and qualities.

2) Means for Evaluating Autonomy (as defined on page 74)

a) Given the definition of autonomy used here, increases in any of the other qualities would indicate an increase in autonomy in the sense of the ability not to follow one's original male socialization. Changes in attitudes and awareness vis a vis sexism and gender role issues, the development of a more androgynous self-definition, increased competence in the use of more "expressive" behaviors, and increased anti-sexist activities are all possible only through an increase in autonomy vis a vis traditional male socialization.

It is possible, however, that such changes could indicate adherence to a new pro-feminist rigidity. Therefore, the following additional measures were also used:

b) Written Material of Participants

Student papers were scrutinized for evidence of increases in general feelings of autonomy and self-directedness, particularly in regard to male sex role issues.

c) Personal Attributes Questionnarie (Spence, et al., 1976)

As explained above in the discussion of the means for assessing androgyny, decreases in the total self-score, indicating correlation with stereotypically masculine qualities,

can be interpreted to indicate increased autonomy vis a vis the traditional male sex role.

A t-test for correlated means was performed to determine the significance of the differences in the pre and post test scores.

3) Means for evaluating Awareness (as defined on page 75)

a) Essay type questionnaire to measure critical awareness (see Appendix B-2) of the links between sexism and traditional definitions of masculinity was designed and administered on a pre and post test basis. Analysis of the data followed the procedure as outlined by Schneidiwind (p. 209): For each question, criteria were determined by which to assess the level of critical awareness of sexism (see Appendix B-2). Four possible categories were determined and each given a point score - zero, one, two, or three. Each answer was read and given the point score of the category that the majority of the respondent's statements were representative of. By tallying points, it was possible to depict numerically and graphically the development of critical awareness of sexism.

Completed questionnaires were read by three independent reader raters, and the mean score of these ratings used for the purposes of this research. A t-test for correlated means was performed in order to assess the significance of the differences in pre and post test scores.

b) Women's Liberation Scale (Goldberg, 1976) (See Appendix B-2)

The Women's Liberation Scale (WLS) has been described by its author as follows: "The WLS is a likert-type scale designed to measure attitudes toward the women's movement. The scale consists of 14 items that express positions held by a variety of women's groups. Each item is followed by four categories: vix., strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, where the higher the agreement the more favorable the attitude toward the women's movement. Scores range from 1-4 with the strongly agree category receiving the highest score. Thus, the total score can range from 14-56" (p. 1).

The test scale appears to be a reliable instrument for assessing such attitudes. The coefficient of reliability for males is .65 and for females .75. Predictably, women tend to score higher than men on the scale, and members of women's groups higher than other women. In addition, the correlation between the WLS and the more widely used AWS was found to be .60.

Items on this scale relate to a broad range of gender equity issues, including general equality, educational equality, occupational equality, and change in traditional sex roles. Because of the broad range of this scale, it was selected for

use instead of the similar and more widely used Attitude Toward Women Scale (ATW) (Spence and Helmreich, 1972). The ATW is more limited in scope and measures only general and basic issues of gender equity, issues with which individuals attracted to a "men and masculinity" course would probably already agree. Increased scores on the WLS, on the other hand, would indicate an increase in awareness of the complex interplay of institutional, cultural, economic, and personal factors in perpetuating women's oppression and men's dehumanization. While this scale does not directly measure attitudes toward masculinity and the male role, it is the most appropriate standardized test in use today in regard to issues of women's oppression, and it seems desirable to use at least one such test in order to make possible a comparison of the effects of the program described in this study with other such efforts to reduce sexism.

A T-test for correlated means was performed in order to assess the significance of the differences in pre and post test scores.

c) Written Material of Participants

Student papers and course evaluations were examined for evidence of changes in levels of awareness, and for participant statements of how their awareness had changed. Of particular relevance were statements indicating an aware-

ness of how sexism oppresses women, of the systemic cause and effects of sexism, and of the relationship between sexism and other forms of oppression.

4) Means for Evaluation of Activism (as defined on page 76)

a) Question #6 on the essay type questionnaire on masculinity and sexism (see appendix B-2) concerns the actions one has taken to counteract sexism. As with the other questions on that questionnaire, criteria were developed by which to categorize responses on a scale of 0-3, in this case to indicate the level of activism (see appendix B-3). The procedure for rating and analyzing the responses was the same as that used for the other questions on the questionnaire (see page 332)

b) Written material of participants

Student papers and course evaluations were examined for evidence of increases in activism, primarily through reports of specific actions that were taken.

## Findings

Development of androgyny:

Personal Attributes Questionnaire: This standardized self-rating questionnaire was administered to participants in the course on a pre and post test basis (see Appendix B-1)

for measure). Scores from the twenty-four questions on the short form of the test were recorded for each participant on both pre and post tests. Differences were computed and recorded for each participant and for the group as a whole on the total score (T), the masculinity score (M-V), and the femininity score (F-V) (see table 1). In addition, mean scores were determined for each sub-scale.

A t-test for correlated means was performed to determine if there was a significant difference between pre and post test scores. As indicated in table 1, the only score with a significant difference was the total score (T), which decreased with significance at the .0 level, indicating a significant decrease in the group as a whole in its adherence to the masculine stereotype. While the femininity (F-V) score also decreased substantially (indicating an increase in those "feminine" qualities since items were rated with the "masculine" pole getting the higher score) the t-test indicated that the difference was not significant.

Pre and post test scores were also broken down item by item and mean scores computed for each item (see table 2). The following qualities changed more than the mean difference of 3.7, indicating that in the group as a whole, participants felt that they were:

TABLE 1

Personal Attributes Questionnaire
Total Numerical Responses on Total Scale, M-V Scale, and F-V Scale

| Participant | Total score | | | Masculinity (m-V) | | | Femininity (F-V) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | pre | post | diff. | pre | post | diff. | pre | post | diff. |
| 1.) | 46 | 42 | -4 | 22 | 23 | +1 | 12 | 7 | -5 |
| 2.) | 48 | 47 | -1 | 19 | 24 | +5 | 11 | 5 | -6 |
| 3.) | 48 | 40 | -8 | 19 | 18 | -1 | 15 | 10 | -5 |
| 4.) | 48 | 49 | +1 | 25.5 | 24 | -1.5 | 8 | 8 | 0 |
| 5.) | 68 | 64 | -4 | 31 | 31 | 0 | 12 | 9 | -3 |
| 6.) | 51 | 49 | -2 | 25 | 21 | -4 | 8 | 12 | +4 |
| 7.) | 44.5 | 39 | -5.5 | 20 | 17.5 | -2.5 | 9 | 10 | +1 |
| 8.) | 37 | 33 | -4 | 20 | 21 | +1 | 6 | 1 | -5 |
| 9.) | 35 | 35 | 0 | 13 | 14 | +1 | 10 | 9 | -1 |
| 10.) | 54 | 55 | +1 | 30 | 26 | -4 | 6 | 11 | +5 |
| 11.) | 27 | 33 | +6 | 8 | 12 | +4 | 9 | 11 | +2 |
| 12.) | 47 | 40 | -7 | 21 | 17 | -4 | 10 | 9 | -1 |
| 13.) | 35 | 28 | -7 | 14 | 17 | +3 | 12 | 3 | -9 |
| 14.) | 32 | 36 | +4 | 14 | 16 | +2 | 8 | 8 | 0 |
| 15.) | 39 | 41 | +2 | 15 | 15 | 0 | 9 | 10 | +1 |
| 16.) | 41 | 38 | -3 | 21 | 21 | 0 | 6 | 3 | -3 |
| 17.) | 47 | 49 | +2 | 24 | 23 | -1 | 7 | 8 | +1 |
| 18.) | 36 | 32 | -4 | 16 | 17 | +1 | 10 | 6 | -4 |
| 19.) | 45 | 39 | -6 | 20 | 19 | -1 | 10 | 6 | -4 |
| 20.) | 35 | 35 | 0 | 17 | 14 | -3 | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| 21.) | 34 | 39 | +5 | 20 | 17 | -3 | 4 | 9 | +5 |
| 22.) | 38 | 39 | +1 | 18 | 13 | -5 | 5 | 8 | +3 |
| Total | 935.5 | 902 | -33.5 | 432.5 | 420.5 | -12 | 193 | 169 | -24 |
| Mean | 42.5 | 41 | -1.5 | 19.7 | 19.1 | -.6 | 8.8 | 7.7 | -1.1 |
| T-test results | t = 1.91 sig. at .1 | | | t = 1.0 not sig. | | | t = 1.3 not sig. | | |

TABLE 2

Personal Attributes Questionnaire

Total Responses and Mean Responses to Each Item, Pre and Post Test

| Item | Total Pre | Total Post | Diff. | Mean Pre | Mean Post |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1.) not at all aggressive/ very aggressive | 46.5 | 48 | -1.5 | 2.1 | 2.2 |
| 2.) not at all independent/ very independent | 65.5 | 61 | -4.5 | 3.0 | 2.8 |
| 3.) not at all emotional/ very emotional | 26 | 23 | -3 | 1.2 | 1.0 |
| 4.) very submissive/ very dominant | 50 | 52 | +2 | 2.3 | 2.4 |
| 5.) not at all excitable in a major crisis/ very excitable... | 34 | 35 | +1 | 1.5 | 1.6 |
| 6.) very passive/ very active | 55 | 56 | +1 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| 7.) not at all able to devote self completely to others/ able to.. | 39 | 33 | -6 | 1.8 | 1.7 |
| 8.) very rough/ very gentle | 29 | 22 | -7 | 1.3 | 1.0 |
| 9.) not at all helpful to others/ very helpful to others | 19 | 16 | -3 | .9 | .7 |
| 10.) not at all competitive/ competitive | 54.5 | 49 | -5.5 | 2.5 | 2.2 |
| 11.) very home oriented/ very worldly | 48 | 50 | +2 | 2.2 | 2.3 |
| 12.) not all kind/ very kind | 20 | 14.5 | -5.5 | .9 | .7 |
| 13.) indifferent to others' approval/ highly needful of... | 30 | 33 | +3 | 1.4 | 1.5 |
| 14.) feelings not easily hurt/ feelings easily hurt | 25 | 24 | -1 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| 15.) not at all aware of feelings of others/ very aware of.... | 21 | 19 | -2 | .95 | .9 |
| 16.) can make decisions easily/ has difficulty making dec. | 30 | 39 | +9 | 1.4 | 1.8 |
| 17.) gives up very easily/ never gives up easily | 56 | 58 | +2 | 2.5 | 2.6 |

Personal Attributes Questionnaire, Total responses to each item (con't)

| Item. | Total Pre | Total Post | Diff. | Mean Pre. | Mean Post. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18.) never cires/ cries very easily | 47.5 | 45 | -2.5 | 2.2 | 2.1 |
| 19.) not at all self-confident/ very self-confident | 55 | 49 | -6 | 2.5 | 2.2 |
| 20.) feels very inferior/ feels very superior | 52.5 | 47.5 | -5 | 2.4 | 2.2 |
| 21.) not at all understanding of others/ very understanding... | 21 | 16.5 | -5.5 | .95 | .8 |
| 22.) very cold in relations with others/ very warm in relation with others. | 21 | 24 | +3 | .95 | 1.1 |
| 23.) Very little need for security/ very strong need for security | 27 | 28 | +1 | 1.2 | 1.3 |
| 24.) Goes to pieces under pressure/ stands up well under pressure | 62 | 62 | 0 | 2.8 | 2.8 |
| Totals: | 935.5 | 902 | 82 (+ or -) | | |
| Mean: | 42.5 | 41.1 | 3.7 (+ or -) | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| less independent | | more able to devote self complete to others |
| less competitive | AND | more gentle |
| less self-confident | | more kind |
| less superior | | more understanding of others |

These data suggest that the decrease in adherence to the traditional masculine stereotype, as indicated in the lower total score noted above, was caused by a lessening of some stereotypical masculine qualities, and an increase in some highly valued "feminine" qualities.

The data from the PAQ, while hardly conclusive, therefore suggest movement toward greater androgyny in the sample as a whole with a small increase in expressive qualities.

Written material of participants: Written data from student papers and course evaluations evidenced a significant increase in expressive (feminine) behaviors and capacities, and some decrease in negatively valued masculine or instrumental qualities (see appendix B-5 for numerous quotations from student papers on this issue). Within the context of the male-male relationships in the group, numerous men reported an increased capacity to share feelings, listen with more acceptance, and develop more intimacy. Specifically, many men reported that both in and outside of the group, they felt that they were less competitive, less judgmental, and less

argumentative, more sensitive to the needs of others, more open, more vulnerable, more warm and affectionnate, more loving, more able to express feelings, more willing to make themselves vulnerable, and more able to express physical and emotional affection for other men. The quotations from student papers in appendix B-6 support these generalizations.

Development of Autonomy:

Personal attributes questionnaire: As indicated in the discussion of the PAQ data in the section on the development of androgyny on page 335 and on Table 1, a significant difference (at .1) was found in the pre and post test scores on the total self score of the PAQ, indicating less adherence to the traditional male stereotype, and therefore, we can assume, greater autonomy in regard to traditional sex role prescriptions.

In the item by item analysis (see table 2), a decrease in the "need for the approval of others" was indicated, also indicating increased autonomy from peer pressure and the views of society.

Written material of participants: Written data from student papers and course evaluations evidenced a striking increase in feelings of autonomy toward traditional sex role demands and toward social dictates generally (see appendix B-6). A majority of participants indicated that greater

autonomy, a feeling of freedom, a determination "to be myself," the conviction that "my masculinity is different from everyone else's because it is an expression of myself," etc. . . . was the most significant personal change or learning they experienced in the course. The quotations from student papers in appendix support these generalizations.

In apparently promoting this kind of autonomy, a feeling of freedom from male role demands, it appears that the course may in the process have also promoted the general ego development of the participants - the general feeling of personal and social autonomy. It also appears that these feelings of greater autonomy may be related to an increased self-acceptance and a resultant increase in the acceptance of others. (See appendix B-7 for quotations from student papers relevant to this issue.) In fact, many participants indicated that the greatest change they experienced was a greater feeling of acceptance of other men, resulting, in their opinion, from a greater acceptance of themselves, with all of their "faults" and "weaknesses." To speculate for a moment, it may be that with greater autonomy from sex role demands and definitions of what a man should be, men can feel more accepting of their own unique selves and consequently feel better about themselves, and in turn more accepting of and better about other people. Perhaps the less one feels like a failure

as a man, the less psychological need one has to dominate others and build up one's sense of self-esteem at their expense.

Increases in androgyny, awareness, and activism: The increases in these other qualities noted elsewhere in this section provide further evidence of increased autonomy from traditional male sex role demands.

Development of Awareness:

Essay type questionnaire: The questionnaire (see appendix B-2) was administered on a pre and post test basis to measure development of a critical awareness of sexism. Answers to the five questions on the questionnaire were assigned points according to the degree of development of that awareness. Each person's response to each of the five questions could gain from zero to three points, and the total response to the whole questionnaire from zero to fifteen points. In terms of each person's total score, 0-3 points was designated as a "no awareness" level, 4-7 points as level 1, 8-11 points as level 2, and 12-15 points as level 3. Sixteen of the course participants completed both the pre and post test measures.

Results indicated that the group manifested a very significant increase in critical awareness (see table 3).

TABLE 3: TOTAL NUMERICAL RESPONSES: QUESTIONNAIRE ON PERSPECTIVES ON MASCULINITY AND SEXISM

| Participant | Pre | Level | Post | Level | Diff. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) | 9.3 | 2 | 8.2 | 2 | - 1.1 |
| 2) | 6.2 | 1 | 8.0 | 2 | + 1.8 |
| 3) | 13.5 | 3 | 13.2 | 3 | - .3 |
| 4) | 4.3 | 1 | 5.7 | 1 | + 1.4 |
| 5) | 6.0 | 1 | 8.7 | 2 | + 2.7 |
| 6) | 12.5 | 3 | 14.0 | 3 | + 1.5 |
| 7) | 9.7 | 2 | 10.2 | 2 | .5 |
| 8) | 9.2 | 2 | 9.5 | 2 | + .3 |
| 9) | 6.0 | 1 | 10.0 | 2 | + 4.0 |
| 10) | 6.0 | 1 | 10.0 | 2 | + 4.0 |
| 11) | 6.7 | 1 | 8.8 | 2 | + 2.1 |
| 12) | 11.3 | 2 | 11.2 | 2 | - .1 |
| 13) | 7.8 | 2 | 12.2 | 3 | + 4.4 |
| 14) | 7.8 | 2 | 8.8 | 2 | + .6 |
| 15) | 11.8 | 2 | 12.7 | 3 | + .9 |
| 16) | 7.0 | 1 | 10.2 | 2 | + 3.2 |
| TOTALS: | 135.1 | | 161.4 | | 26.1 |
| MEANS: | 8.4 | | 10.0 | | |
| MEAN/QUESTION: | 1.7 | | 2.0 | | |

T-test Results: t = 3.98, sig. at .01 level.

Specifically, the total group score increased by 26.1 points, the mean score of each participant from 8.4 to 10.1, and the mean score for each question from 1.7 to 2.0. A t-test for correlated means was performed (see table 3), indicating that the differences were significant at the .01 level.

In terms of numbers of participants at each awareness level this data can be summarized as follows:

| pre-test | post-test |
|---|---|
| level 0: 0 (0%) | level 0: 0 (0%) |
| level 1: 8 (50%) | level 1: 1 (6%) |
| level 2: 6 (37.5%) | level 2: 11 (69%) |
| level 3: 3 (12.5%) | level 3: 4 (25%) |

Thirteen out of sixteen participants increased their awareness scores, with seven moving up a level from level 1 to level 2, and two moving up from level 2 to level 3.

The data from this questionnaire therefore clearly indicate an important change in the level of awareness of sexism among course participants.

Women's liberation scale: This standardized test measuring attitudes toward the goals of the women's movement was administered on a pre and post test basis. Pre and post test scores for the 14 questions on the test were recorded for each participant (see table 4). Differences were computed for each participant and for the group as a whole.

TABLE 4: WOMEN'S LIBERATION SCALE:
TOTAL NUMERICAL RESPONSES, PRE AND POST TEST

| Participant | Pre | Post | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.) | 54 | 56 | +2 |
| 2.) | 43 | 44 | +1 |
| 3.) | 50 | 55 | +5 |
| 4.) | 56 | 56 | 00 |
| 5.) | 50 | 47 | -3 |
| 6.) | 52.5 | 55 | +2.5 |
| 7.) | 46 | 49 | +3 |
| 8.) | 39 | 43 | +4 |
| 9.) | 55 | 55 | 0 |
| 10.) | 41 | 47 | +6 |
| 11.) | 39 | 41 | +2 |
| 12.) | 52 | 56 | +4 |
| 13.) | 45 | 49 | +4 |
| 14.) | 46 | 53 | +7 |
| 15.) | 54 | 54 | +2 |
| 16.) | 54.5 | 54.5 | 0 |
| 17.) | 53 | 55 | +2 |
| 18.) | 45 | 46 | +1 |
| 19.) | 55 | 56 | +1 |
| 20.) | 46 | 54 | +8 |
| 21.) | 56 | 56 | 0 |
| 22.) | 48 | 51 | +3 |
| Totals: | 1080 | 1134.5 | +49.5 |
| Mean: | 49 | 51.6 | +2.25 |

T-test results: t = 3.69 Significant at .01 level

Also, differences were tabulated on an item by item basis, and the mean scores computed for each item (see appendix B-9).

These computations indicated a significant increase in pro-feminist attitudes, despite the fact that the group began with a relatively high score. With 56 the highest possible score, the mean score from pre to post test increased from 49 to 51.6. A t-test correlated means indicated that this difference was significant at the .01 level. Seventeen participants (17%) incrased their scores on the test, only one (4%) experienced a decrease, and four (18%) stayed the same.

Written material of participants: Student papers and course evaluations provided evidence of some development of critical awareness, although the questions asked did not tend to elicit this kind of information, and the lack of pre and post course examples of student responses made the assessment of growth or change difficult. Nonetheless, the papers do contain many statements testifying to increased awareness of the effects of gender role socialization on oneself and others, of how women are oppressed, of the power dynamic in man-woman relationships, of the barriers to male-male intimacy, and of the relationship between sexism, homophobia, militarism, and racism. Quotations from papers in regard to each of these issues support these generalizations (see

appendix B-10).

Development of Activism:

Essay type questionnaire: A question measuring level of activism was administered to participants as an addition to the questionnaire on sexism and masculinity. Participants responses were categorized on a scale of 0-3, according to criteria described in appendix B-3. (See Table 5)

Comparison of the pre and post test data indicated a significant increase in the level and kind of anti-sexist activism participants were engaged in. The total score increased from 27.1 to 30.1, the mean score from 1.7 to 1.9. A t-test for correlated means indicated this difference to be significant at the .05 level. Also, 7 men (44%) increased their score, 9 men (56%) stayed the same, and none went down.

Written material of participants: Although student papers and course evaluations were not designed to directly ask for evidence of increased activism, some such evidence appeared in those papers nonetheless (see appendix B-11). Most of these statements indicated an increased concern about working on one's own sexism and finding support for one's own efforts to educate oneself or others, and in two cases, joining or forming anti-sexist political action groups. As with the questionnaire data, these written materials therefore

TABLE 5: NUMERICAL RESPONSES:
QUESTIONNAIRE ON
"ANTI-SEXIST ACTIVISM"

| Participant | Pre | Post | Diff. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1) | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0 |
| 2) | 1.0 | 1.3 | + .3 |
| 3) | 2.0 | 2.7 | + .7 |
| 4) | .3 | .7 | + .4 |
| 5) | 1.3 | 1.3 | 0 |
| 6) | 2.0 | 2.7 | + .7 |
| 7) | 2.0 | 2.0 | 0 |
| 8) | 1.7 | 2.0 | + .3 |
| 9) | 2.3 | 2.3 | 0 |
| 10) | 1.7 | 1.7 | 0 |
| 11) | 1.7 | 1.7 | 0 |
| 12) | 1.7 | 2.0 | + .3 |
| 13) | 2.7 | 2.7 | 0 |
| 14) | 2.0 | 2.0 | 0 |
| 15) | 2.7 | 2.7 | 0 |
| 16) | 1.0 | 1.3 | + .3 |
| TOTALS: | 27.1 | 30.1 | +3.0 |
| MEANS: | 1.7 | 1.9 | .19 |

T-test Results: T = 2.1, sig. at .05 level.

indicated a range of levels and degrees of activism, although only a minority of participants gave evidence of such activism in their written work. In sum, there appeared to be a moderate increase in the level of activism in the group as a whole.

## Summary

This section of this chapter has presented the procedure for and results of the assessment of the development in participants in the course "Men and Masculinity" of the four qualities: autonomy in regard to sex role demands, androgyny, critical awareness of sexism, and anti-sexist activism.

A somewhat significant increase in autonomy was evidenced among participants in the decrease in their total score on the Personal Attributes Questionnaire, indicating less adherence to the traditional masculine stereotype. A t-test for correlated means indicated that this difference was significant at the .1 level, which is significant but at a fairly low level. Written materials of participants showed a substantial increase in feelings of autonomy and self-directedness, with many participants singling out that change as their most important learning in the course. A possible relationship between this increased autonomy and increased feelings of self-acceptance and acceptance of others, as

evidenced in the written materials, was also discussed.

Evidence of the development of androgyny was more equivocal. On the Personal Attributes Questionnaire, the significant decrease in the total score, noted above, evidenced an apparent lessening in adherence to the masculine stereotype, but while there was a slight increase in expressive qualities as reflected in a slightly decreased F-V (femininity) score, the t-test indicated that that change was not significant. However, written materials from participants provided examples from most of statements that they felt they had developed many more expressive, nurturant qualities, and decreased some negatively valued stereotypically masculine qualities such as arrogance, self-centeredness, and argumentativeness. The question of why these changes were not reflected significantly in the PAQ results is a point that will be considered in the interpretation of these findings in the next chapter.

Of all the qualities measured, the most significant increase appears to have come in participants' awareness of sexism - that is, their critical awareness of its causes and affects. Data from the essay type questionnaire, Women's Liberation Scale, and written materials, all evidenced a significant increase. Scores on the questionnarie increased at the .01 level of significance, according to a t-test for correlated means. Scores on the WLS, measuring pro-feminist

attitudes, also increased at the .01 level, according to the t-test. Written materials of participants also provided many self-initiated examples regarding the development of critical awareness of many aspects of masculinity and its connection to sexism.

The data also indicated an increase in participants' anti-sexist activism, although the increase was not nearly as great as that for awareness. Categorizations of participants' self-reports of their activity indicated a difference significant at the .05 level according to the t-test. Written materials of participants also indicated some increase in activism, although not from most members of the group.

In conclusion, the greatest changes appear to have come in regard to participants' consciousness, and not their behavior. What increased most were their sense of personal autonomy and self-directedness vis a vis sex role prescriptions, and their level of critical awareness of sexism, particularly in regard to their personal involvement in being affected by sexism and in promoting its continuance. The smaller changes came in participants' behavior - (a) their level of personal androgyny, as reflected particularly in an increase in expressive behaviors, and (b) in their level of anti-sexist activism. The significance of this much greater change in consciousness than in behavior, issues it raises

as to the relationship of consciousness change and behavior change, and implications as to the design of the model and the course, will be discussed in the following chapter, in which the findings reported in this chapter will be interpreted.

# CHAPTER VI

## INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study, as stated in the introduction, has been to develop, implement, and evaluate a pedagogical model for men's consciousness raising. That purpose has now been achieved through the articulation of a set of goals and objectives for a men's consciousness raising program, the development of a set of teaching principles for the pedagogy, the exploration of the implications of a developmental perspective on men's identity for how the pedagogy should be implemented, the description of a specific course curriculum reflecting those principles, and an evaluation of the course's effectiveness in meeting its objectives. The content of the study can be outlined more fully as follows.

In the introduction, the purpose, significance, and basic methodology of the study were described. Chapter Two, a discussion of the social context of the study, served to establish the existence and possible causes of the transition in masculinity and male norms that appears to be taking place in our society. Through an exploration of the prevailing definitions of masculinity, an exploration of the historical/economic

context in which the current re-examination is taking place, and a summary of the criticisms of those definitions and that role, some of the problems with traditional masculinity were identified and the factors underlying the current transition in masculinity were explored.

In Chapter Three, two bodies of literature addressing the transition in masculinity were reviewed. First, literature proposing alternative conceptions of masculinity was explored, leading to the articulation of a set of qualities combining key points of all of the proposals, qualities summarized with the terms: autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism. The development in men of these qualities became the objective of the pedagogy for new male consciousness.

The second body of literature reviewed was that describing existing approaches for educating men about sex roles and sexism; approaches for helping men to re-evaluate traditional masculinity and perhaps move toward the alternative conceptions. That review led to the conclusion that the existing approaches are inadequate because they have limited objectives and/or they do not take into account the two key facets of men's consciousness and identity in regard to this issue: the limitations imposed on men by traditional sex roles, and men's role as oppressors of women. A need for this study was therefore established; specifically a need for a general

set of underlying principles for a more adequate and thorough consciousness raising program for men, and some theory to help determine how to apply these principles with men having particular needs and characteristics.

Chapter Four, the heart of the study, was devoted to the development of a theoretical model for men's consciousness raising that would address those needs. In the first half of the chapter, a general set of pedagogical principles for men's consciousness raising was developed through a review, critique, and synthesis of existing consciousness raising and education approaches relevant to the pedagogy's objectives. The approaches reviewed were T-groups, Freire's education for critical consciousness, feminist consciousness raising groups, and anti-oppression education.

The second half of Chapter Four involved the exploration of a developmental process - oriented perspective on men's identity and its implications for the implementation of the pedagogy. Several theories of sex role and male identity development were reviewed, leading to the articulation of an integrated and more differentiated model of men's identity development that could explain all of the observed developmental patterns. Two key aspects of that model, the domains of male identity and the stages of male identity development, were found to be particularly relevant to the choice of the

particular content to be explored in the consciousness-raising process.

Chapter Five involved the detailed description of a specific consciousness program for men - a college course entitled "Men and Masculinity," an explanation of its relationship to the pedagogical model, and a report on the findings of an assessment of the course's effectivenss in achieving its objectives. In the appendix is a more detailed description of the course activities, and a full accounting of the assessment data that was gathered.

In this final and concluding chapter, the findings reported in Chapter Five will be interpreted and their implications assessed as to the apparent strengths and weaknesses of the set of pedagogical principles, of the integrated model of identity development, and of the men's consciousness raising curriculum that was implemented. Appropriate adjustments in those principles, that model, and that curriculum will be suggested. Other issues raised by this study in regard to men's consciousness raising and men's identity development will be identified and discussed. Along the way, suggestions will be made for future research and investigation that could build on and clarify further what has been explored in this study itself.

## Interpretation of the Findings

As reported in the previous chapter, data collected on the effectiveness of the curriculum in helping men to become more autonomous, androgynous, active, and aware indicated significant overall increases in levels of autonomy and awareness, with smaller and less significant increases in levels of androgyny and activism. In this chapter, the meaning and significance of these results will be interpreted in terms of the pedagogical principles and model of identity development upon which the course and its implementation were based.

In so doing, there are two basic questions that will be asked and addressed. The first question is:

(1) How can this pattern of results be explained?

In response, several factors will be considered in an attempt to account for the less significant increases in autonomy and activism:

- The changes reported may be all that should be expected. It simply may not be possible to promote highly significant increases in androgyny and activism through a four month three hour/week course experience.

- The levels of identity development and primary domains of interest of the participants. In other words,

it is possible that the majority of participants in the group were not developmentally ready to make these kinds of changes.

- Possible flaws in the set of pedagogical principles.
- Possible flaws in the correspondence of the course design to those principles.
- Possible flaws in the implementation of the design.
- Other factors that may have hindered the change process.

In interpreting the findings of this informal course evaluation, all of these factors will be considered. The second question, which follows upon the answers developed to the first question, is:

(2) What are the implications, if any, of these findings for possible modifications or clarifications of the model of identity development, the set of pedagogical principles, and the course design?

Both of these questions will be answered in the two sections which follow, in which changes in the paired qualities of "autonomy and androgyny" and "awareness and activism" will be interpreted. While the necessary inter-relationship of the four objectives has been pointed out several times, changes in each of those qualities were assessed separately in the course evaluation. In now interpreting the changes reported in that evaluation, those inter-relationships will once again be

discussed as an effort is made to identify what those findings can tell us about the effectiveness of the course and about the process of change. It is because of the particular connections between the qualities of autonomy and androgyny (qualities of the "liberated" man), and between the qualities of awareness and activism (qualities of the "anti-sexist" man), that findings will be interpreted for those qualities in those sets of two. Finally, connections among all four of the qualities, and therefore between "men's liberation" and "men's anti-sexism" will be considered, or I should say reconsidered, as well.

## Autonomy and Androgyny

As reported, the course evaluation data indicated that many participants experienced increased feelings of autonomy, freedom, and self-directedness, changes reflected in the significant (at the .05 level) decrease in the total score on the PAQ, indicating a decrease in adherence to the traditional male stereotype. Those changes were accompanied in many participants by the (self-reported) development of many expressive qualities, although those changes resulted in a small and not highly significant increase in the F-V score on the PAQ. Therefore, it appears that the decreased

adherence to the male stereotype might have been caused more by a decrease in some negatively valued "masculine" qualities, such as argumentativeness, then by an increase in the "feminine" expressive qualities.

This significant increase in autonomy and smaller increase in androgyny can perhaps be explained by the fact that the changes that were reported may have been more the result of increased feelings of self-acceptance than of actual changes in personal characteristics and behavior. Many individuals, it should be remembered, reported greatly increased feelings of self-acceptance as the most significant personal change to result from their learning experience in the course. The general unconditional acceptance that people experienced in the group, along with validation and affirmation of their expressive qualities, and de-validation and criticism of their negatively valued "masculine" qualities, may have helped many participants to admit and accept to themselves and others that they had so much of the "macho" qualities. Particularly for those participants who already felt very alienated from the traditional male norms, a sizeable percentage of the group, the feeling of validation and affirmation for who they were but had been pretending not to be was perhaps the most significant aspect of the course.

Thus, the course probably did as much or more to turn

feelings of self-blame and failure among already relatively "androgynous" men into feelings of self-acceptance and sex role autonomy, as it did to turn self-acceptance among more traditionally "macho" men into a more questioning attitude about sex role norms and pressures. Even among those not already feeling at odds with traditional masculinity, however, the release from the pressure to "avoid anything even vaguely feminine" can and did lead to a very liberating feeling and can apparently help people to get in touch with aspects of themselves that were so well buried they did not even know they were there.

It is also interesting to note that most participants reporting an increase in expressive behaviors indicated that those changes developed primarily in the context of their male-male relationships, both in and out of the group, a fact that supports the correlation in the identity development model (see chart 8) between development in that domain and increases in androgynous behavior. The identity development model can also potentially explain the other changes that were reported in relation to particular identity domains. For instance, development in the self domain leading to increased resistance to male role socialization may have been largely responsible for the reported feelings of increased autonomy and self-acceptance, while development into a resistance phase in

the man-woman domain may have led more to a decrease in the negatively valued "macho" characteristics than to an increase in expressivity.

The identity development model as described can not however account for another explanation of why autonomy increased more than expressivity (in most men meaning growth toward androgyny), the simple and logical explanation that the feeling of freedom from sex role demands (autonomy) may for many be a first step preceding growth toward androgyny. In other words, the feeling or belief that its ok for men to be expressive and nurturant may come before and be easier to stimulate than actual changes in personal behavior or personality characteristics. If so, then the identity development model should be further differentiated to account for that tendency. As will be noted below, Jackson and Hardimon (1982) have suggested differentiation into entry, adoption and exit substages which might be able to account for that sequence. For instance, in the resistance stage in the self domain or relationship with men domain, in which the model suggests that autonomy and androgyny are likely to develop, autonomy may develop in an "entry" substage and androgyny in an "adoption" substage.

It may be that a four month thirty-five hour course does not provide enough time to allow for the desired

behavioral changes to develop, but it is also possible that those aspects of the pedagogy intended to promote expressivity could have been more successful if designed differently and/or designed in regard to the time limits of this particular learning experience. For example, one other possible explanation for the less than fully successful development of expressivity is that the pedagogical principles which were supposed to stimulate this quality were not adequately implemented because of a conflict or contradiction between those principles and other principles being implemented. To be more specific, principles adapted from the T-group approach regarding the "deroutinization" of experience and the resultant anxiety brought on by trying to function in a basically leaderless group were supposed to stimulate a process through which participants could recognize the shortcomings of their own interpersonal qualities and the value of more expressive communication and more empathetic listening. While certain interpersonal processing did help to focus attention of these issues, the degree of structure imposed on the group in order to lead it through various activities and to focus attention on issues of sexism and oppression, may have subverted to some degree the effectiveness of the interpersonal learning that could occur in a less structured group. On the other hand, for those participants who do

come to recognition of a need for more expressivity in their personal repertoire of behavior, more rather than less structure and direction may be appropriate in order to encourage experimentation with new behaviors in the group and to lead the group in direct communication skill-building activities. In the design as implemented, some skill-building did occur in the course of implementing various structured activities and the interpersonal processing that required active listening and the effective communication of feelings. It appears, however, that if a course with a limited time span is to lead to more growth toward androgyny, then more deliberate skill-building and behavioral rehearsal should be built into the course, supplementing the general processing dimension of the experience. The structure and directedness of these activities, however, would once again tend to decrease the amount of non-directed group time during which individuals could discover and assess their interpersonal styles and recognize a need or desire to change.

There appears to be a potential conflict therefore between the non-directed process through which participants can discover their need for more expressive qualities, and the more directed process through which they can be encouraged to try out and practice the interpersonal skills that they need and in which information can be presented and other

activities co-ordinated. This potential conflict points to a general tension in the design between the appropriate amount of directed versus non-directed group interaction and experience. The most appropriate balance between these two leadership styles will depend on the particular needs and dynamics of the group involved.

## Awareness and Activism

Awareness and activism, the qualities which we have associated with the "anti-sexist" man, have a similar relationship to each other as the qualities of autonomy and androgyny, with which we defined the "liberated" man. In both cases, the first qualities mentioned - awareness and autonomy, involve changes in consciousness - changes in how we think about ourselves and the world; and the second qualities listed - androgyny and activism, involve changes in behavior. In a pattern similar to that for autonomy and androgyny, it was found in the course evaluation that awareness (consciousness) increased very significantly, while activism (behavior) increased but not nearly as much. In explaining and interpreting these results, similar conclusions will be drawn as to those for autonomy and androgyny about the limited change in activism that can realistically be

expected in a four month period of times and about possible weaknesses in the curriculum design and insufficiencies in the model of identity development.

In so doing, it will first of all be useful to look more specifically at the particular kinds of changes in awareness and activism indicated by the data. It is interesting to note, for example, that in the responses to the questionnaire "perspectives on sexism and masculinity," (see Appendix B-3 ), levels of awareness increased most dramatically on the questions (numbers 2, 3, 4) dealing with how the individual affects and is affected by sexism, with very small increases in awareness about how society and our social institutions support and embody sexism, and about how sexism can be confronted. Statements in participants' written material about their awareness indicated a similar pattern. Apparently then, the continued effort in the course to help men to see personal connections to the issue was very effective, but that effectiveness might have come at least partly at the expense of more emphasis on connections to larger social systems and socio/political issues. Indeed, this lack of emphasis is reflected in the fact that only one session was devoted to the men and society domain, while four were devoted to the self domain; and furthermore, two of the three sessions on the man-woman domain and both

sessions on the man-man domain dealt primarily with issues and problems in interpersonal relationships, with the hope that connections would somehow be made to the larger social context. While this may have been an appropriate place to start, apparently not enough was done to help people to make those connections. It would appear therefore that, at a minimum, more time should be spent on the men and society domain and more effort made throughout to help people to see these connections.

From a different perspective, the kinds of awareness that developed might also be a reflection or a result of the stage of development in particular domains of the majority of group participants. With many participants at a resistance or redefinition stage in the self and man-man contexts, and at acceptance and resistance stages in the man-woman and men and society domains, the lack of more critical awareness of women's oppression and institutional sexism would be expected. That pattern of identity development, with higher levels in the self and man-man contexts, may also explain why more anti-sexist activism was not generated, since such activism would tend to be promoted mostly in the man-woman and society contexts. The identity development model however, does not have a clear way of explaining why awareness would increase before activism, and perhaps should be amended or clarified

accordingly along the lines suggested in regard to autonomy and androgyny. To be more specific, it may make sense to use Jackson's and Hardiman"s (1982) suggestions about entry, adoption, and exit substages to account for that sequence within a given stage, such as the resistance stage in the relationships with women domain, during which those qualities are likely to develop.

The kind of awareness that developed is also reflected in and perhaps caused by the changes in activism that occured. According to Freire's pedagogical theory, the principles of which were integrated into this approach, consciousness or critical awareness develop through praxis-reflection on problems, leading to action to confront those problems, leading to more reflections, leading to more action, etc. . . . creating a cycle in which awareness leads to action which leads to more awareness etc. The focus in the course, particularly early on, on personal and interpersonal problems, led to the result that the praxis that was stimulated by the course primarily focused on the dynamics of the group or on relationships outside of the group. Not surprisingly, the kind of anti-sexist activism reported by participants centered on efforts at personal change and interpersonal confrontation. While that kind of praxis might eventually lead to a recognition of the connection of those problems to

larger social issues and dynamics, as indeed the theory of this pedagogy suggests would eventually happen, the striking lack of praxis in regard to institutional sexism and other political issues diminished the likelihood that awareness would increase in those areas. This is not to demean the importance of the kind of personal change and anti-sexist activism that was generated, but only to point out its limitations and relate them to the kind of awareness that was generated. More focus on institutional causes and effects of sexism might lead to more praxis in those areas and then to greater degrees of awareness and activism in response.

## Implications for Changing the Pedagogy and the Model of Identity Development

The above interpretations of the findings of the course evaluation were made in the spirit of inquiry and speculation. Clearly, much more research would need to be done before any definitive conclusion could be drawn about the effectiveness of the consciousness-raising program. In that speculative spirit, however, several interpretations as to possible changes in the pedagogical model and identity development model were made, changes that could perhaps be investigated and evaluated in future research. At this point, those suggested modifications will be clarified and summarized.

First of all, in regard to the set of pedagogical

principles, a potential conflict was noted between principles calling for an unstructured non-directed group process versus those calling for more structure and direction, with the non-directive process more facilitative of the development of personal autonomy and the recognition of a need for more androgyny, and the more directed approach facilitative of the actual development of androgyny, and perhaps of awareness and activism as well. This conflict builds an inevitable tension between these leadership styles into the pedagogical process. The most appropriate balance of styles will have to be determined by the developmental needs of the group, and the style and approach that is most comfortable for the particular facilitator and group members. The effects of various leadership styles on the course outcomes is an area that could clearly benefit from more research.

The relative lack of significant development of the qualities of androgyny and activism led to some other questions about the particular course design in which the pedagogical principles were implemented. As pointed out earlier, it may be that the changes found are all that could be hoped for from a one semester 35 hour learning experience such as that described. On the other hand, changes in the design might make the development of more androgynous behavior and more anti-sexist activism more likely. For instance,

it was concluded that more emphasis could be placed on encouraging participants to plan and try out the desired kinds of behavior changes. Specifically, more conscious skill-building activities could be utilized to help men develop more expressive qualities and give them an opportunity to try out such behaviors in the relative safety of the group, and then outside of the group. More emphasis on trying out such behaviors may also help lead men to more awareness of the social/institutional blocks to sex role liberation and androgyny, and potentially, to more activism in confronting those blocks. In terms of action, more emphasis also seems necessary in encouraging and helping men to translate their awareness into the identification and planning of ways that they can interrupt sexism in themselves, in others, and in society. One or two sessions devoted to this goal at the end of the course are apparently not enough to produce very significant results.

On the other hand, the reason that more sessions and activities were not devoted to such action planning derives from the logical and psychological flow of the design, which is based on the "what? so what? now what?" principle of sequencing and on the confirming, contradicting, creating, and continuing phases of the pedagogical process. Questions of "now what" and of the "creating/envisioning/modelling"

phase - questions about what to do about what one is learning, questions about how to change one's behavior - are not raised until after the other questions have been covered for each topic. One result of that sequence is reflected in the number of activities labelled with autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism as primary goals (see chart 9): autonomy - 10, awareness - 10, androgyny - 5, and activism - 6. From this perspective, it should come as no surprise that autonomy and awareness developed more than androgyny and activism.

The question that can be asked is whether or not that flow and that design were appropriate for the group involved in stimulating the maximum amount of change. For most group members, I would conclude that the answer to that question is yes, but it may be that those who came into the course with a considerable degree of autonomy and awareness already developed, those at stages of resistance and redefinition, may have been looking immediately for help in finding alternative ways to resist sexism and redefine themselves as men. More encouragement to plan and try out new behaviors might therefore make the course more appropriate and effective for those at those higher stages of development. The danger is that more emphasis on behavior change and the development of expressivity and activism might make the course less relevant and even threatening for those not ready to make

those kind of changes.

Implicit in this argument, as well as in the pattern of changes that emerged, is the development of autonomy before androgyny and the development of awareness before activism, with androgynous and activist behavior then leading, through a dialectical process, to more autonomy and awareness. However, as pointed out above, the identity development model utilized in teaching the course does not explicitly account for that sequence, although it does not contradict it either. It seems then that even more differentiation of the identity development model would make it more useful as a guide to intervention. It should be pointed out, however, that the model as conceptualized in terms of stages and domains did prove useful in explaining the changes that occured and in informing the development of appropriate goals and strategies for men with particular interests and concerns.

Further differentiation of the model that could make it even more useful can perhaps be informed by referring back to chart 7, in which the various theories of sex role and male identity development were compared and contrasted as to which of the qualities they accounted for. In two of the theories reviewed, the sequence noted above was indicated. In Block's theory of sex role development, based on Loevinger's model of ego development, autonomy precedes androgyny, and in

Edler/Schneidiwind's model awareness precedes activism. Using these theories as a guide, it might be possible to develop sub-stages for the Hardiman social identity development model which was adapted for use in this study, sub-stages that could account for such sequencing. Indeed, as noted above, Jackson and Hardiman (1982) have suggested the existence of entry, adoption, and exit substages for each stage that may serve the desired purpose.

## Other Issues Raised by this Study in Regard to Consciousness-Raising and Men's Identity Development

Up to this point, two basic interpretations have been offered as to why the men's consciousness raising pedagogy described in this study led to much greater changes in consciousness than changes in behavior. In simple terms, one interpretation traced these results to the identiy development level of the men enrolled in the course, and the other to possible weaknesses in the pedagogical theory and course design. These findings could also be interpreted, however, within the larger context of some of the basic questions raised by this study about the process of consciousness raising in general and about anti-sexist consciousness raising for men in particular.

The most basic question in that regard concerns the nature of the relationship between consciousness change and behavior change, a question that itself leads to related questions about the relationship between the personal and the political and between personal change and social change. Or, to put it more simply: Can consciousness raising do any more than "raise" or in some sense "change" consciousness?

Shedding perhaps some light on that question is the limited research that has been done on the effectiveness of consciousness raising programs (Nassi and Ambromowitz, 1978; Marchesani, 1982), which suggests that the most significant effects of consciousness raising program for women (almost no other research has been done on men), have been in the areas of personal growth and socio-political understanding of women's oppression (Marchesani). Despite the fact that personal behavior change and social activism were included in the general objectives of the consciousness raising process, the studies reviewed found little or no evidence of change in those areas.

> The qualitative and quantitative findings that do exist seem to indicate that consciousness raising activities have the potential to promote social-political understanding of women's oppression, but are unable to either effectively support political action projects or catalyze a woman's interest in outside political activities (Marchesani, 1982, p. 25).

The data gathered in this study clearly indicate a very similar pattern of results, in this case for men.

It may be that all of these consciousness raising programs were not designed appropriately to achieve the desired results, but it also may be that there are limits to the kinds of changes in personal behavior and social activism that can result from a structured consciousness raising group experience - a group of people sitting in a room discussing issues - no matter how it is designed. And if, as Freire and others suggest, the development of critical consciousness depends on the dialectic of praxis - analysis, action, reflection, action, etc., then consciousness will itself be limited by the kinds of actions for change that group members engage in. As Snodgrass puts it: "Changing consciousness depends on the dialectics of changing conditions" (1979, p. 113). If, as is usually the case, the actions, and the praxis, are limited to the horizons of the group itself, then consciousness will be raised in regard to the factors that directly effect the group process. It may be possible to help people to intellectually understand the connections between their personal and interpersonal problems and larger social issues, but limiting reflection, analysis, and action to what goes on in the group itself leaves the consciousness raising group open to the danger of the illusion

of the T-group, in which it can appear that all problems can be solved through personal change or improved interpersonal communication.

It therefore appears from this perspective that if consciousness-raising programs are to be able to effect changes in social activism as well as personal behavior, then those programs must encourage people as individuals and as a group to take actions to solve problems outside of the group, and then use the group to analyze, reflect on, and learn from those actions, and go on to plan more. It is possible that only through such a process, a process not clearly included in any of the existing consciousness raising programs including this one, that the desired kinds of behavior changes can be facilitated and consciousness "raised" even more about the social causes and social solutions to the problems that people identify. In that respect, consciousness raising groups could go on to function as support/learning groups for people taking action in the outside world.

It may be that the kind of consciousness raising that seems to have resulted from the course described in this study, and in other programs, may be a necessary first step, leading to the changes in autonomy and awareness that can eventually lead to the changes in behavior leading to more social activism

and personal androgyny. But if, on the other hand, the encouragement and facilitation of such actions are not built into the consciousness raising process or added on as a necessary next step, then consciousness raising efforts may be limited to the kinds of changes in consciousness that have been described.

Whatever the answer to this question that has been raised about the consciousness raising process in general, the effectiveness of the men's consciousness raising curriculum here described can also be interpreted in terms of issues and problems specific to educating men about sex roles and sexism, issues that were brought up earlier in this study. These issues in turn relate to questions about the effects and direction of the men's movement in general, questions that bring us back to the basic question to which this study is addressed: How can men be helped to develop a new kind of masculinity that counteracts and overcomes the problems of the old masculinity?

In developing a pedagogy for this purpose, it was argued first of all that such a "new" masculinity must help men to become not only "liberated" but "anti-sexist" as well, characteristics summarized in ther terms: autonomy, androgyny, awareness, and activism. It was then argued that in order for such a pedagogy to be effective in helping men

to change in these ways, it must take into account and help men to see the connections between two central aspects of their social identity in regard to this issue; the limitations imposed on men by the traditional male sex role, and men's role in the oppression of women. The extent to which men can and will become "anti-sexist" as well as "liberated/androgynous" depends, it would seem, on the extent to which these connections exist and the extent to which men recognize in some sense their self-interest in fighting sexism and women's oppression. The question therefore arises: To what extent was the pedagogy of this study effective in helping men to explore both of those issues and the connections between them?

This question can be answered in part by once again asking: Was the pedagogy as implemented effective in helping men to become the "ideal" liberated/androgynous/anti-sexist man? The course evaluation, as reported, indicated that the course as implemented was indeed successful in helping men move toward that new ideal, but much more in helping them to feel free from sex role demands and to understand the causes and effects of sexism, than in actually changing their behavior. These changes in consciousness may, as discussed, be necessary preludes to changes in activism, but this pattern points to the difficulty of getting, men, as members

of the dominant, privileged, oppressor group, to change in ways that significantly confront women's oppression. It can feel good to men to feel free from the burdens of traditional masculinity and to have an understanding of sexism that allows them to identify themselves as feminists and thus to feel free from the guilt of feeling like an oppressor of women. But, as the saying goes, "talk is cheap." The extent to which men act on this new consciousness and awareness, act to give up power and privilege in their personal relationships with women, and oppose male power and privilege in society at large, is of course another question, a question that clearly involves changes more painful and difficult for men to engage in. The extent to which men engage in such changes probably depends on to what extent they recognize their own self-interest in doing so. More focus on men's sex role limitations most clearly connected to women's oppression might help to make the course and pedagogy more effective in this respect.

On the other hand, it is important to remember that not too many conclusions should be drawn on the basis of the informal course evaluation that was conducted. It may be that some very significant changes in personal and political behavior were simply not picked up by the assessment tools used. Furthermore, it is also important to point out that while no great increases in anti-sexist activism in opposition

to institutional sexism were derived, the kinds of personal changes men described can also have a significant positive effect in lessening men's personal oppression/exploitation of women, and in weakening support for more institutional manifestations. In that sense, the phrase "the personal is political" can mean that personal change can have political implications, as well as the other way around. As men divorce themselves from the need to "prove" their masculinity in the traditional ways, and as they develop more nurturing and supportive relationships with other men, they have less need to be emotionally dependent on women, and can treat women and men as equals and partners, not as objects to be dominated and controlled.

However, the question still remains that: If the primary effect of consciousness raising groups in general and of men's consciousness raising groups in particular is to help men become more autonomous and aware, then what is the real effect on womens' oppression? The same question has been asked time and again of the anti-sexist men's movement in general, which seems to devote so much of its time and energy to self-exploration and personal growth activities. At a recent men's movement conference in the mid-west, for instance, Andrea Dworkin, feminist author and activist, challenged men to act on their feminist and anti-sexist ideals. Citing the

degree of violence and oppression that women experience, she called on the gathered men to do something about the fact that while nearly all of us in the men's movement are trying to find ourselves, most are doing virtually nothing to end the violence. Men have the luxury, it seems, of deciding whether or not we want to do something about sexism and its manifestations. For women, it is something they must deal with in some way every day.

Speaking from a similar perspective, Sam Mifsud, in his key note address to the 8th National Conference on Men and Masculinity (Ann Arbor, 1983), called on those in the men's movement to not, in the name of liberation from the old "macho" ideals, lose our power to "be aggressive about the truth . . . to be aggressive about justice;" in overcoming some of the limits of the male stereotype, to not forget those without the privilege to engage in this kind of self-exploration:

> Among us, we carry a lot of privilege as most of us are white men, and I hope that we continue using what resources we have available to us in the aid and betterment of the lives of those people denied the right to their own self-determination . . . .. Let's use what we've got to get what we want . . . the opportunity for fulfilling life for everyone.
>
> Because while we're learning to be tender, 50% of the women of Puerto Rico and 50% of the Native American women of South Dakota have been sterilized against their will. As we get back in touch with our feelings, an American teenager attempts

> suicide once every 27 seconds. And as we try to let go of responsibility, homeless Americans roam the country looking for work. While we try to relax, the fascist and racist forces of apartheid are still strangling people in South Africa.
>
> So we are forced to work on two fronts at once! We must continue to let go of being over-achievers, but let's not forget that Reagan was successful in getting the House and Senate to spend another 2.6 billion dollars of our tax monies on 21 new MX missiles. Let's get in touch with nurturing aspects of ourselves and do something about the fact that close to 8% of the population of El Salvador has been murdered. Yes, let's be aggressive about justice! Let's learn and work and fight to be free men, not at the expense of other people, and let's use that freedom to get the same for those who might never see it but in their dreams.

The pedagogy described in this study is devoted to such goals: helping men to become free from traditional sex roles, helping men to see the connections between their freedom and freedom for women and other oppressed people, helping them to fulfill more of their human potential and to struggle to create a society more conducive to everyone's humanization and fulfillment. The pedagogical model and specific curriculum described here were designed to be helpful to those working toward such goals. There are, as pointed out, many ways that this model and this curriculum could perhaps be improved, but that is to be expected. This study was not meant as the last word on consciousness raising programs for men, but as one of the first, helping to conceptualize and articulate the key issues involved in men's consciousness raising, developing

and proposing a general set of pedagogical principles useful for that purpose, and helping to raise questions for further study and research.

Men are changing. Masculinity is in transition. Hopefully, this study has something to contribute both to the struggle of changing men to find a new kind of masculinity that is more fulfilling to them and less oppressive to others, and to the struggle to change men still caught in the traditional oppressor roles and structure. Pursuing this study has helped me in that search. I have seen that men can change, that many men want to change and are trying to learn how, and that men can support each other in that struggle. We do not need to let our past training and socialization determine our future. We learned to be sexist, but we can also learn to be anti-sexist and personally more whole and balanced. We can find a new direction. It is a direction toward a society in which roles, rights, privileges are not doled out on the basis of gender, race, or other social identity factors, but are determined by our personal inclinations and needs; a society in which affirmation, self-determination, and the opportunity for self-fulfillment are human rights, not white male privileges. It may take us a long time to get where we want to go, but it can feel very good to be on the right path. As it has been said: "A march of 1000 miles begins with a single step."

# APPENDIX A

## COURSE MATERIALS AND ACTIVITY DESCRIPTIONS

MEN AND MASCULINITY
Educ H 392B
Fall 1983

Instructor: Steve Schapiro
Home phone #: 617/648-6639

OBJECTIVES

1. Understand the impact of male socialization on psychological development, interpersonal behavior, and social attitudes.
2. Recognize some of the costs and benefits of socialization into traditional stereotypes.
3. Understand the basic dynamics of sexism at individual, cultural, and institutional levels.
4. Explore and experiment with alternative ways of being male through which we can be more complete and whole and less hurtful to ourselves and others.
5. To make more conscious, informed, and autonomous choices in our lives about what it means or should mean to be a man; and to be able to help others to do the same.

COURSE STRUCTURE AND METHODOLOGY

This course will be run as a structured consciousness raising group in which, in a nonthreatening and supportive atmosphere, we will learn about masculinity by exploring together our experience of being men, or of being women in relation to men. Class time will involve a combination of discussion, structured experiential activities, and possible films and guest speakers. The processes through which we communicate and develop as a group will also be treated as an important source of learning. Journal writing and a series of learning papers will serve to stimulate and supplement the personal reflection and sharing through which we expect most of our learning to come. Readings will be assigned each week to stimulate discussion and provide a theoretical framework from which to analyze our experience.

GENERAL OUTLINE (The specific content and order of topics may vary, depending on the interests of the group.)

Session 1: Introduction

-- Who we are, goals and expectations, hopes and fears

Sessions 2, 3, 4: Growing Up Male

-- Stereotypes, role models, fathers and sons, personal histories, learning to deal with emotions

Session 5: The Dynamics of Oppression

-- Sex roles, sexism, dominant-subordinate roles

Sessions 6, 7, 8: Men and Women

-- Patterns and games, power, intimacy, dependency, sexuality, violence against women

Sessions 9, 10: Men and Men

-- Male friendships, male bonding, effects of competition and homophobia, intimacy, homosexuality, building better relationships

Session 11: Men, Class, and Race

Sessions 12, 13: New Directions

-- Personal and social change

Session 14: Closure

-- Where do we go from here?

EXPECTATIONS/REQUIREMENTS

1. Attendance: Because of the experiential nature of the course, attendance is critical. It is expected that everyone will attend all class sessions. It will not be possible to give a passing grade in the course to anyone missing more than two sessions.
2. Journal: A personal journal, in which participants will write during class and for homework, will be required. (More on this later.)
3. Readings and written responses: Weekly reading assignments will be made, and participants will be asked to write one- or two-page written reactions and responses to these readings.
4. Learning papers: Four three- to four-page papers, in which participants will be asked to write thoughts, feelings, and responses to what we're doing in class, will be required.
5. Final paper: A reflection, summation, and integration of one's learning in the course will be done in seven to ten pages.
6. Additional requirement to earn an "A" in the course: A book review or other outside project, to be reported on to the class.

REQUIRED READINGS

Readings will be assigned from the following anthologies on the male experience, which have been made available for

purchase at Food for Thought bookstore and placed on reserve at Goodell Library. Additional readings may also be assigned.

Required Texts:

David, D., and Brannon, R., Eds., The 49% Majority: Readings on the Male Sex Role, Addison-Wesley, New York, 1976.

Pleck, J., Ed., Men and Masculinity, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1974.

Optional:

Lewis, R., Ed., Men in Difficult Times, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1981.

Snodgrass, Jon, For Men Against Sexism, Albion, CA: Times Change Press, 1977.

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INTEREST SURVEY: SUMMARIES

The purpose of this survey [was] to assess your motivations and interests in taking this course so that we [could] be more effective in designing the course to meet your needs.

1. In the space next to each item below, put a number indicating your level of interest in that item, as follows:

0 = Not Interested
1 = Slightly Interested
2 = Somewhat Interested
3 = Very Interested
4 = Primary Interest

Mean Scores

2.85 "Myself"

2.9 Understanding more about my roles and behaviors as a man and how they affect me.

2.85 Understanding more about my emotions.

2.8 Understanding more about my sexuality.

2.85 Becoming more in touch with and able to make use of more aspects of myself.

2.66 "Men and Women"

2.5 Improving my relationships with women.

2.7 Understanding more about common dynamics in male/female relationships.

2.7 Understanding more about rape and violence against women.

2.7 Understanding more about sexism, patriarchy, and male dominance.

2.7 Understanding more about feminist theory.

2.73 "Men and Men"

2.8 Improving my relationships with men.

2.6 Understanding more about common dynamics in male-male relationships.

2.7 Developing more intimate friendships with men.

2.9 Understanding more about homophobia and homosexuality.

2.67 "Men and Society"

2.7 Understanding more about men and work, competition, achievement, success.

2.6 Understanding more about the connections between masculinity and war.

2.6 Understanding more about the relationships between masculinity, sexism, and capitalism.

2.8 Understanding more about the relationships between sexism and racism.

2. Rank the main categories in order of their overall interest for you (1 = Most Interested; 4 = Least Interested):

1.9 Myself

2.4 Men and Women

3.0 Men and Men

2.8 Men and Society

3. Please complete the following sentences:

a) What concerns me most about masculinity and myself as a man is . . .

b) One hope I have about my experience in this course is . . .

c) One fear I have about it is . . .

4. Anything else you'd like to communicate to us?

MEN AND MASCULINITY
Spring 1983

Instructor: Steve Schapiro

## INTEREST SURVEY

Responses to the sentence stem--What concerns me most about masculinity and myself as a man is . . .

| Responses | Context |
|---|---|
| Why isn't it "masculine" for a man to express his masculinity through loving another man? | (men) |
| Where does masculinity come from? How do I perpetuate, maintain, and contribute to sexist patriarchal society? | (women) |
| Bettering my relationships with people of both sexes. | (men, women) |
| Being stereotyped--having people accept me with my "weaknesses"--e.g., lack of manliness | (self) |
| How can I relate more openly with other men? | (men) |
| How to bring about a less patriarchal, sexist society? | (women) |
| The power--physical, intellectual, mental--that I (and other white men) are able to enjoy over women. | (women) |
| That I may be unwittingly fulfilling roles based on my gender to preserve a facade of masculinity which is expected by my peers. | (self) |
| Why I make decisions in ways that are stereotypic of men. | (self) |
| Appearing masculine without being closed-minded. | (self) |
| I feel disassociated or unconnected to most men, not sharing that supportive feeling currently with men. | (men) |
| How stereotyping affects the way in which I act. | (self) |
| My inability to know my own feelings | (self) |

Totals in each context:

Self: 7 = 54%  Women: 3.5 = 23%  Men: 2.5 = 20%

MEN AND MASCULINITY

## JOURNAL

Your journal for this course should serve as a place for you to express and record your thoughts, feelings, and ideas--your interior monologue--about men and masculinity and your experience in this course. Use the journal in a way that best suits your needs. For starters, I'd like to ask you to make the following entries in the journal each week:

-- What has your experience in the course been leading you to think about masculinity and yourself as a man or a woman? What are your most personally significant learnings, reactions, or questions?

-- What are your thoughts and feelings about the group, and about yourself and your behavior in the group?

During class, and outside of class, you may also be asked to make other, specific entries.

During class time, I may sometimes ask you to share, at your own discretion, with one or two people, some of your journal writing.

I will be asking you to hand the journals in to me at least twice during the semester.

## WRITTEN RESPONSES TO THE READINGS

On paper separate from your journal, to be handed in each week, please write one to three pages of your thoughts, feelings, and ideas in response to the weekly assigned reading. How do the readings relate to your experience? What did they lead you to think about? (I am interested in your thoughts and feelings, not simply a summation of the articles.)

## Activity: Introductory Activities (Session 1)

Purpose

-- To help participants to begin to get to know each other, learn each other's names, and get a sense of why they all were taking the course.

-- To begin to build group trust and support.

-- To build the group's sense of ownership of the course and their positive expectations about it.

-- To identify participants' fears and anxieties about being in the course.

-- To reduce anxiety and to build a feeling of safety and security.

-- Introductions

Have participants introduce themselves by sharing their names and why they chose to take the course. The instructor should also explain his reasons for wanting to teach the course.

-- Name Game

Ask for a volunteer to begin, and then go around the group, asking each participant to say their own name after they have repeated the names of the people in the group who have gone before them. The last person to go, therefore, has to repeat the names of everyone in the group.

-- Hopes and Fears

Have participants write down anonymously on a sheet of paper their completions of the following sentence stems:

- Something I hope for about this course is . . .
- Something I fear about what this course might be like is . . .

Post a sheet of newspring with the word "hopes" on top.

Ask participants to share what they'd like of the hopes they wrote down and others that they continue to think of.

Record their responses on the newspring; including your own.

Repeat this procedure for the fears.

Ask for comments and discussion about the activity.

Respond to any concerns and fears that seem important to address immediately.

This is a good time to first present, or remind people about the course guidelines for discussion, including nonjudgmental, respectful listening, speaking from one's own experience, and confidentiality.

Collect the anonymously written answers for your own information.

## Activity: Paired Sharing
(Session 1)

### Purpose

-- To begin discussing questions about men and masculinity, in this way introducing the material of the course.

-- To raise some initial contradictions about what "masculinity" is or means.

-- To begin developing more trust and intimacy among participants.

### Procedures

-- Explain the objectives and purpose of the activity.

-- Ask participants to pair up with someone they do not know.

-- Explain that they will each have three minutes to share with each other their response to a question that the facilitator will ask.

-- At the end of the first three minutes, suggest that the other person in each dyad begin talking about the topic.

-- After that three minutes is up, ask participants to find a new partner.

-- Repeat the above procedure for the other three questions below.

-- The questions, or sentence stems, are:

- The man in me is . . .
- The woman in me is . . .
- Something I really like about being a man is . . .
- Something I really dislike about being a man is . . .

-- Ask participants to share in the large group their reactions and thoughts in response to this activity.

## Activity: Pictorial History of Your Sex Role*
(Session 2)

### Purpose

To help participants to:

-- Identify and share some of the experiences which shaped their sex role identity.

-- Identify and share how and why their sex role identity might still be changing.

-- What they have in common and where they differ in that experience.

-- Identify common patterns in male sex role socialization.

-- Become better-acquainted and build more group trust.

### Procedure

-- Help participants to get into a relaxed and comfortable position, then ask them to close their eyes and go on a guided memory experience:

> "Picture yourself as a child of five or six in your home. What kinds of messages did you get from your parents and sibilings about how you as a boy should behave--about what it means to be a boy, and a man? Do any experiences in which these messages were communicated to you really stick out in your mind?"

Give the same guided memory instructions regarding elementary school years, junior high, high school, and adulthood.

-- Distribute large sheets of paper and crayons to be shared and ask each person to fold the paper in half, and on one side draw or somehow picture some of the key vignettes in their lives that shaped their sex role identity. Each scene should convey or represent in some way how they learned the appropriate behavior for a boy.

(continued)

*Adapted from Alice Sargeant.

-- Ask participants to draw on the other side of their paper key vignettes that have contributed to their questioning those other lessons, and developing a new, different sense of how to be a man, or of what a man should be.

-- Ask participants to form groups of three or four and take about ten minutes each to share and explain to others in their group their pictorial histories.

-- Have groups report out on common themes and patterns in their histories, and on other learnings from the experience.

## Activity: Role Model Interviews (Session 3)

### Purpose

-- To help participants to recognize the continued impact of a role model on them, in their internalization of that role model's expectations.

-- To help participants to reflect on their relationship with a role model and how they feel about each other.

### Procedure

-- Ask participants to choose a role model from their past who they think had a big impact on them (e.g, father, friend, teacher, etc.)

-- Explain that they will be asked to pair up and each take a turn to role-play (or pretend to be) their role model and answer questions about themselves.

-- Demonstrate the role model interview by being interviewed by a group member.

-- Ask participants to pair up.

-- Distribute interview questions (see Appendix A-8b), and allow approximately 20 minutes each, reminding them when it is time to switch.

-- Distribute interview processing questions (see Appendix 8c), and instruct participants, in their pairs, to take 15 minutes each to think about and process the interview using these questions.

-- Ask participants to return to the large group and share any key learnings and conclusions.

ROLE MODEL INTERVIEW: QUESTION SHEET

1. Who are you pretending to be?

2. How would you describe _____ (your name)?

3. What kind of a person is _____ (your name)?

4. How was/is _____ (your name)?

5. How were/are you important to _____ (your name)?

6. Did _____ (your name) ever disappoint you?

7. Did _____ (your name) ever make you proud?

8. What did/could _____ (your name) do that would please you?

9. What did/could _____ (your name) do that would shock or upset you?

10. What are your wishes and hopes for _____ (your name)?

11. If you could leave _____ (your name) with just one message or one piece of advice, what would it be?

## ROLE MODEL INTERVIEW: PROCESSING QUESTIONS

1. Why did you choose this person for this role play?

2. How are you like this person?

3. What characteristics of this person would you like to have that you don't?

4. Which would you like to reject?

5. How has this person affected what you think you should be like as a man or woman?

6. Are there other things you realized about how this role model has affected the way you are and how you feel about yourself as a man or woman?

## Activity: Presentation on Male Sex Role (Session 3)

Purpose:

-- To present a cognitive framework for thinking about the lessons of growing up male and the key themes of the traditional male role.

-- To give participants an opportunity to use that framework to analyze some of their experience.

Procedure:

-- Present and/or ask group members to help explain the four key themes of the traditional male role as outlined in R. Brannon's "The Male Sex Role," in The 49% Majority (R. Brannon, ed.), assigned for this session. Those four themes are:

- No Sissy Stuff: The avoidance of anything even vaguely feminine.
- The Sturdy Oak: A manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance.
- The Big Wheel: Success, status, and the need to be looked up at.
- Give 'em Hell: The aura of aggression, violence, and daring.

-- Ask group members to relate these themes to their role model interviews (see Appendix A-13) by responding to such questions as:

- Which of those themes most affected your role model?
- Which of those themes did your role model most clearly pass on to you? How?
- Which of those themes has had the strongest effect on you?

(These themes also form the basis of Learning Paper #1--see Appendix A-25).

## Activity: "Nobody Knows Me"
## Fishbowl Processing
## (Session 4)

Purpose:

-- To help participants recognize and think about the typical male patterns of low self-disclosure and fear of vulnerability.

-- To help participants to recognize and begin to evaluate their own patterns of self-disclosure in and out of the group.

-- To help participants to focus on the group's patterns of interaction.

Procedure:

-- Help participants to get into a comfortable, relaxed position and play a recording of the song, "Nobody Knows You," by Geoff Morgan. Lyrics to the song are on the next page (Appendix A-10b).

-- Fishbowl Processing

- Ask for half of the group to form a circle facing in in the middle of the room, with the outer circle composed of the other group members.
- Ask those in the inner group to share their reactions, feelings, and thoughts in response to the song, while asking those in the outer group to observe the process of the discussion.
- Ask outer-group members to share their observations of the discussion process, with a particular focus on patterns of self-disclosure and on feeling-level versus intellectual types of responses.
- After all of the feedback from the outer group, the inner group should respond and share their own feelings and thoughts about their personal/interpersonal process.

SONG LYRICS: "NOBODY KNOWS YOU"

by

Geoff Morgan

Kept to himself, moody and shy
Senior class president, voted best liked
Four years student council, played in the band
A long distance runner, he was everyone's friend.

But nobody knows you, nobody knows you
They really want to, but nobody knows you.

Went on to college, boy meets a girl
Discover you're virgins and it's all right in the world
Come graduation, wedding bells ring
Everything's perfect and the birds start to sing.

But she doesn't know you, she doesn't know you
She really wants to, but she doesn't know you.

Got a good job, best one in town
Climb toward the top and you never look down
Crisis at fifty, you hair's filled with snow
Stare at the mirror and wonder where did it go.

You don't know you, you don't know you
You really want to, but you just don't know you.

Drone of a sermon, only one soul to save
Grave diggers joking as they're filling your grave.
Family gathered and it's tears everyone
Each is agreeing just how well you had done.

But nobody knows you, nobody knows you
They really wanted to, but nobody knows you.

## Activity: Commandments About Feelings (Session 4)

Purpose:

-- To help participants to identify and share the messages and lessons they received about how they should deal with their feelings.

-- To help participants to assess and share how those messages continue to affect their behavior, in and out of the group.

-- To help participants as a group to assess the costs and benefits they get from following those messages.

-- To encourage participants to experiment with alternative behaviors in the group.

Procedure:

-- Record on newspring participants' brainstormed responses to the question: "What messages or 'commandments' did you receive about how you, as a man, should deal with your feelings?"

-- Ask participants to individually rate what, for them, were the three or four most powerful messages.

-- Vote on the three or four most powerful messages for the group as a whole.

-- Ask participants to discuss how these messages continue to affect their behavior. (This can be done in small groups at first, if desired.)

-- On newsprint, list participants' responses to the following:

  - What are the benefits to you, and to men in general, from following these 'commandments about feelings'?

  - What are the costs to men in general and to you personally?

-- Ask participants to identify one thing they'd like to change about how they deal with their feelings by completing the following (in their journals):

"When I feel _____, I usually do _____.

Instead, I'd like to do _____."

-- Ask participants to pair up and share these thoughts about desired changes with their partners.

-- Group "whip," with each member who would like to sharing their desired change with the group as a whole.

## Activity: Presentation/Discussion on the Dynamics of Oppression (Session 5)

Purpose:

-- To present a cognitive framework about oppression that participants can use to think about the causes and functions of the sex roles that they have identified, and the effect of these dynamics on their relationships with women and with other men.

Procedure:

-- Present lecture on the dynamics of oppression, summarized with the following points:

- oppression = prejudice + power

  power = privilege, social sanction, enforcement

  prejudice = conscious or unconscious negative attitude toward another social group

- for example:

| whites | men | heterosexuals | non-Jews |
|---|---|---|---|
| ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ |
| people of color | women | gays, lesbians | Jews |

- the groups with power can be called the dominants, those without, the subordinates.
- people are born into these social groups, and do not choose to be socialized in this way.
- there are some common characteristics of dominants and subordinants:

| Dominants | Subordinants |
|---|---|
| Privileged (human, normal) | Powerless (look to dominants for rewards and punishments) |
| Namers (know little about subordinants) (create the stereotypes) | Named (know a lot about the dominants) |
| Blame the victim (create myths that explain and/or justify the oppression) | Collusion (buy into and act out roles prescribed by the oppressor--e.g., blame selves for the oppression) |

-- Stereotypic characteristics of men and women that prepare them for dominance and subordinance (examples):

- Men: aggressive, unfeeling, independent, strong
- Women: passive, emotional, dependent, weak

-- The dynamics of oppression operate both vertically and horizontally:

Dom ⟶ Sub: Through acting out characteristics and patterns defined above.

Dom ⟷ Dom: There is a hierarchy of power and privilege based on who is most like the "ideal" dominant stereotype

Rejection of those who don't act out dominant role and/or ally with the subordinants

Sub ⟷ Sub: Between groups--competition for resources and horizontal hostility

Sub ⟷ Sub: Within a group--oppression of those who are least powerful/least like the dominants

-- Dominants and subordinants (in this case, men and women) can therefore all support these roles and these dynamics by keeping each other in line through communicating the expectation of playing out these roles and rejecting those who do not.

## Activity: Man-Woman Relationships Survey (Session 6)

Purpose:

-- To help participants to identify patterns of strengths and problem areas in their relationships with members of the opposite sex.

-- To examine the relationships of sex roles and the dynamics of dominance/subordinance to the problem areas they identify.

Procedure:

-- Ask participants to identify three of the most significant relationships they have had with members of the opposite sex (friends or family) and list in journal. Next to name of each, write down in brief the positive factors in that relationship and the issues, problems, and sources of dissonance.

-- Have participants form groups of three or four and take ten minutes each to share this information with others in their group.

-- Ask each subgroup to identify common themes in their relationships and record these on newsprint.

-- Conduct a large group discussion focusing on the question:

- How have sex role stereotypes and issues of dominance/subordinance affected your relationships?

## Activity: Male Violence--A Guided Memory (Session 8)

Purpose:

-- To help participants to identify an experience in their past when they were, or wanted to be, violent.

-- To relate this experience to general patterns of male violence.

Procedure:

-- Ask participants to get into a comfortable position, relax, close their eyes, and think back to a time when they were, or wanted to be, violent, and then identify who else was there, what happened, and how they were feeling before, during, and after.

-- In their journals, participants record their sequence of behaviors, their thoughts about it as it happened, and their feelings.

-- Participants form groups of three and take five minutes each to share this memory.

-- Back in large group, sharing for those who want to about their memory, explaining why they were, or wanted to be, violent, and what feelings they experienced.

-- On newsprint, list the feelings that people identify.

-- Discuss in the large group the relationship of these feelings to the possible sources of male violence and to male role stereotypes and messages.

## Activity: Presentation/Discussion --Violence as a Continuum (Session 8)

Purpose:

-- To define violence in a way that helps participants to see it as a wide continuum ranging from the physically violent to the psychologically violating.

-- To relate examples of violence against women to that continuum.

Procedure:

-- Define violence as violation of another, which can be manifested in many ways.

-- Draw a line on newsprint to represent a continuum of violence.

-- Ask participants to identify examples of violence against women, and place them on the continuum (be sure to include such examples as murder, rape, beating, pornography, obscene comments, and sexual harassment)

-- Ask participants to share feelings and thoughts in response to this activity.

-- Conduct discussion focusing on the questions:

- Why are men violent against women?

- What can we do about it?

The assigned readings for the day, as well as the other activities of this session, will provide material for the discussion.

## Activity: Thumb-Wrestling
(Session 9)

Purpose:

-- To give participants a present experience to draw upon that can highlight issues of competition and homophobia as the primary barriers to male-male intimacy.

-- To give participants an experience that can help them to identify their own pattern of relationships with other men.

-- To "warm up" and energize the group.

Procedure:

-- Participants choose a partner and engage in two successive thumb-wrestling contests.

-- Switch partners and repeat.

-- Switch partners, and this time engage in a thumb conversation, including the initiation of a conversation, getting into an argument, making up, and saying good-bye.

-- With final partner, participants take five minutes each to share their reactions to the activity, including answers to questions such as:

- What did it feel like?
- What was easiest? Most difficult?
- Was their behavior typical for them? Why or why not?

-- In whole group, ask participants: What was that like? What issues came up for people? Do people see any connections between what happened and to problems/issues in their male-male relationships?

-- After presentation on barriers to male-male intimacy (see Appendix, next page), relate this experience to competition and homophobia.

## Activity: Overcoming Barriers in Male-Male Relationships (Session 10)

Purpose:

-- To help participants to identify what they'd like to change or improve in their way of relating with other men.

-- To help the group as a whole develop a list of strategies for overcoming the barriers.

-- To help participants plan how to work on or experiment with these changes in or out of the group.

Procedure:

-- In journals, participants note:

- One thing I'd like to change in how I'm relating to men is _____.
- One way I can work on that change outside of this group is _____.
- One way I can work on that change inside this group is _____.
- One way that others in this group could help me to work on that change is to _____.

-- Participants pair up and share these thoughts with their partners.

-- Participants, if willing, share the last two thoughts with the whole group.

-- Large group discussion of social changes that would make the personal changes more possible.

## Activity: Presentation/Discussion on Men, Class, and Race (Session 11)

Purpose:

-- To identify some of the connections between sexism, racism, and classism.

-- To help participants to recognize some of the effects of classism and racism on them.

Procedure:

-- Present a short lecture on gender, class, and race, including the following key points:

- Refer to definition of oppression given earlier (see Session 8); oppression = prejudice + power
- Three key determinants of who has power and privilege and who does not are gender, race, and class
- In terms of access to power and privilege, society can be pictured as an hourglass (see Goldenberg, I., Oppression and Social Intervention).

-- Whites, men, and rich/ruling-class members are born with many privileges that give them a big advantage in gaining power and privilege. Yet, men are competing with each other for the few places at the top of the hourglass. Therefore, classism and racism pit men against each other, since in this hierarchical competitive system, each man's success depends on the failure of others.

- Men and class: There are two key classes--the ruling class (those in control of the productive resources of the society), and the working class (those who work for a wage). Therefore, most men are working class, and not in control of their lives or the world. Most men are losers in this competitive game.
- Men and race: Whites have many privileges and advantages over men of color, including more access to jobs, goods, and power. These privileges are reinforced by cultural stereotypes and myths.

-- Personalizing: Ask participants to check off in their journals where they fit into each category of the chart below, and to jot down a personal example of feeling dominant or subordinant in that area.

| | Dominant | Subordinant | Personal Example |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | | |
| Race | | | |
| Class | | | |

-- Participants pair up and share their responses to this activity.

-- Large group sharing of learnings about the effects and inter-connections between these forms of oppression.

-- Discussion/presentation answering the following question:

- How do racism and classism support sexism, and vice versa?

-- The following key points are among those that should be made:

- How classism supports sexism:

  -- Most men's lack of power and control in a society that says men should have power and control leads them to assert that power in the home and over the women and children in their lives.

  -- The structure of the economic system, with "men's" work being paid more, supports sexual stratification and a sexual division of labor, keeping women economically dependent on men.

- How sexism supports classism:

  -- Male socialization leads men to be competitive, to accept authority of or over other men, to "tough it out" and not feel their pain and oppression, to not question but "take things like a man." All of these traits support men's role in the economic system.

-- Men defining themselves through work and through how much money they make makes them susceptible to exploitation in the marketplace.

- How racism supports sexism:
  - -- Stereotypes of white, black, and hispanic men and women reinforce sex role stereotypes and the oppression of women.
  - -- Black and hispanic men's lack of economic and political power relative to whites leads to an assertion of masculinity as power over women.
  - -- Racism is another justification for white male power and privilege, and institutionalized racism supports the white male power structure.
- How sexism supports racism:
  - -- White male norms are racist as well as sexist.
  - -- Stereotypes about white sexuality and sex roles give rise to negative stereotypes about black sexuality.
  - -- The psychological need to prove and maintain their masculinity leads whites to physically and economically oppress blacks who they have stereotyped as more virile physically and sexually.
- If the negative effects of sexism are to be overcome, racism and classism must be overcome as well, because they are borne out of and support the same hierarchical, competitive, oppressing system.

## Activity: Presentation--Alternative Conceptions of Masculinity (Session 12)

Purpose:

-- To help participants to become aware of alternative models and new ideals of masculinity.

-- To encourage participants to articulate their own models/ideals.

Procedure:

-- Present a short lecture on alternative conceptions of masculinity, including reference to the following new "ideal men":

- the "liberated man"
- the "androgynous man"
- the "feminist man"
- the "anti-sexist man"
- the "anti-sexist socialist man"

(These alternative conceptions are discussed in the assigned reading for this session, and in Chapter II of this study.)

-- Ask participants to discuss their reactions to and opinions about these ideas, and which alternative, combination of alternatives, or new idea altogether they are most drawn to.

## Activity: Personal Goal Setting
(Session 12)

Purpose:

-- To help participants to set goals for changes they'd like to work on in themselves, and to identify likely supports for and resistances to those changes.

-- To give participants a sense of some of the changes other group members are interested in working on.

-- To help participants to identify some of the connections between personal and social change.

Procedure:

-- In journal, participants note:
  - Five personal goals for change in how they are a man.
  - Pick one goal they feel most committed to, and for that one goal, list:
    -- the risks it would entail
    -- the obstacles/resistances to it:
      - intrapersonally
      - interpersonally
      - societally
    -- the supports for reaching it:
      - intrapersonally
      - interpersonally
      - societally

-- Share in triads, five minutes each

-- Large group "whip," with each participant who'd like to sharing his goal with the group.

## Activity: Personal Change to Social Change (Session 13)

Purpose:

-- To help participants to see the connections between the personal changes they'd like to make and the possible necessity for social change.

Procedure:

-- Participants refer back to their personal change goal and their list of obstacles in society to that change (see Session 12 and Appendix A-20).

-- Participants convert obstacles into goals for social change; that is, social changes that would eliminate those obstacles.

-- On newsprint, list all of the social change goals indicated by the group.

## Activity: Presentation on Feminism and Social Change (Session 13)

Purpose:

-- To provide a conceptual analysis of the relationships between personal change and social change in the struggle against sexism.

-- To help participants become more aware of the existence and political orientation of various ongoing feminist movements/organizations for social change.

Procedure:

-- Present/discuss various perspectives on feminism and social change, including at least the following:

- N.O.W.--for legal and political rights
- Radical feminists
- Socialist feminists
- Men's movement, including
  - -- N.O.C.M. (National Organization for Changing Men)--anti-sexist
  - -- Men's rights groups

These various perspectives/organizations are fully discussed in the assigned reading for this session.

-- Following the presentation and identification of these approaches, participants can discuss which approaches they most prefer, and why; and what kind of political philosophy and organization would be best for working toward the kinds of personal and social change goals that they have.

## Activity: Strength Bombardment
(Session 14)

Purpose:

-- To give participants an opportunity to give and receive positive feedback about the strengths that they perceive in each other.

-- To give participants experience in supporting, validating, and affirming each other.

Procedure:

-- Each group member who wants to takes a turn as the focus of attention for five minutes or so, during which time the group members spontaneously tell him strengths they see in him and qualities they appreciate about him.

-- Ground rules: Everything said must be sincere. The focal person should not respond except, after his focus time is up, to say simply, "Thank you."

## Process Questions

1. Is everyone getting an opportunity to contribute what they want to the group?

2. What is the group climate like? (e.g., co-operative, competitive, guarded, open, joyful, sad, etc.)

3. What behaviors seem helpful in fostering an open and co-operative atmosphere?

4. What behaviors seem to impede that process?

5. How is our socialization as men affecting the way we interact and communicate with each other?

6. What feelings are you experiencing during class?

7. What behaviors are you using that are typical for you?

8. What behaviors are you using that you'd like to change?

9. Are there some new behaviors that you'd like to try out?

## Learning Paper #1

For this learning paper, I'd like you to take some time and reflect on your experience growing up male, and on your experience thus far in this course. In order to do so, please respond to the following questions:

*1. In their article, "The Male Role . . .," Brannon and David outline what they describe as the four main themes of the male role. Which two of those factors do you think had the most impact on you through your life? Discuss the impact of those themes on you as you were growing up and as it continues to affect you. (If these themes have not had a big impact on you, discuss other "Commandments of Masculinity" that have.)

2. Through the course up until now, what are the most important issues and concerns that have come up for you? What have you learned, noticed, or realized? What questions and concerns are arising for you?

   -- What have you found most helpful in your experience in the class?

   -- What are your thoughts and feelings about the way you have been in the class?

*Women: Please respond to Question #1 in regard to a man you know fairly well. You could do that on the basis of what you perceive those effects to be, or, if you like, on the basis of an interview with someone.

## Learning Paper #2

Subject: Men Relating to Women--Dominance and Subordinance

Last week in class, we began to look at the dynamics of oppression and issues of dominance and subordinance, particularly in regard to men in relation to women. Please use this Learning Paper as a way to continue thinking about this issue.

In this paper, please reflect on how your interactions and relationships with women have been affected by dominance/subordinance and issues of sex role stereotypes. Specifically, pick three or four such relationships that have been significant for you in some way (i.e., friends, teachers, lovers, mother, sisters, etc.) and explore the effect of these issues on those relationships.

Also, please include some more comments on how you are experiencing the class. What are the key issues and learnings that are coming up for you? How do you feel about yourself in the class and the way you are relating to other class members and to me? What gets in the way for you in terms of learning in this class?

Note: If the above questions do not seem to stimulate productive thinking for you, please use this opportunity to think through and write about any other issue related to "men and masculinity" that is more personally significant for you.

## Learning Paper #3

Subject: Men and Men

For this learning paper, please respond to the following questions:

-- Through our class discussions, activities, and readings, what have been the most significant issues to arise for you in your thinking about male-male relationships?

-- What, for you, are the most significant things you've learned about male-male relationships? About yourself?

-- What, if any, changes would you like to make in your ways of relating to [other] men?

-- What are some ways that you think you could use your experience in the rest of this course to work on these changes?

## Final Paper

I would like to ask you to make this final paper a reflection, summary, integration, and summary of your learnings in this course, based on our class sessions, your reading, your journal, and your Learning Papers. The following questions can be used as guidelines for this writing:

-- What have been the most important learnings for you as a result of being in this class? About masculinity; about yourself?

-- What changes, if any, have you noticed in your attitudes and/or behavior toward yourself; toward men; toward women?

-- What changes, if any, in the way you express your masculinity or feminity are you at this point in time most interested in making?

-- What, if any, social changes do you see as necessary in order to make these personal changes a real possibility?

-- How does your participation in this class compare to how you are in other situations; other classes; with men? Have you noticed changes in how you felt or acted in this class?

# APPENDIX B

## COURSE EVALUATION MATERIALS

## Personal Attributes Questionnaire

The items below inquire about what kind of person you think you are. Each item consists of a pair of characteristics, with the letters A through E in between. For example,

Not at all artistic A....B....C....D....E Very artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics--that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic.

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which describes where you fall on the scale. For example, if you think you have no artistic ability, you would choose A. If you think you are pretty good, you might choose D. If you are only medium, you might choose C, and so forth. For each item, select the letter on the scale that best describes you and circle it. Please be sure to answer every item.

1. Not at all aggressive A..B..C..D..E Very aggressive

2. Not at all independent A..B..C..D..E Very independent

3. Not at all emotional A..B..C..D..E Very emotional

4. Very submissive A..B..C..D..E Very dominant

5. Not at all excitable in a major crisis A..B..C..D..E Very excitable in a major crisis

6. Very passive A..B..C..D..E Very active

7. Not at all able to devote self completely to others A..B..C..D..E Able to devote self completely to others

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | Very rough | A..B..C..D..E | Very gentle |
| 9. | Not at all helpful to others | A..B..C..D..E | Very helpful to others |
| 10. | Not at all competitive | A..B..C..D..E | Very competitive |
| 11. | Very home-oriented | A..B..C..D..E | Very worldly |
| 12. | Not at all kind | A..B..C..D..E | Very kind |
| 13. | Indifferent to others' approval | A..B..C..D..E | Highly needful of others' approval |
| 14. | Feelings not easily hurt | A..B..C..D..E | Feelings easily hurt |
| 15. | Not at all aware of feelings of others | A..B..C..D..E | Very aware of feelings of others |
| 16. | Can make decisions easily | A..B..C..D..E | Has difficulty making decisions |
| 17. | Gives up very easily | A..B..C..D..E | Never gives up easily |
| 18. | Never cries | A..B..C..D..E | Cries very easily |
| 19. | Not at all self-confident | A..B..C..D..E | Very self-confident |
| 20. | Feels very inferior | A..B..C..D..E | Feels very superior |
| 21. | Not at all understanding of others | A..B..C..D..E | Very understanding of others |

22. Very cold in relations with others — Very warm in relations with others

A..B..C..D..E

23. Very little need for security — Very strong need for security

A..B..C..D..E

24. Goes to pieces under pressure — Stands up well under pressure

A..B..C..D..E

## Women's Liberation Scale

To answer the questions in this section, indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement with a given statement. Please read the scale which follows each question carefully.

(The weights associated with the categories Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree are 4, 3, 2, and 1, respectively.)

1. In general, the activities of women's liberation groups will have a very good influence on our society.

   Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

2. Women should be given the same consideration as men when both are applying for the same job.

   Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

3. Women, whether married or single, should receive the same salary as men for doing the same job.

   Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

4. Women should have the same educational opportunities as men in all fields of study.

   Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

5. All occupations should be equally accessible to men and women.

   Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

6. There should be free child-care centers to help mothers who have to work.

   Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

7. There should be free child-care centers to help mothers who don't have to work but would like to get a job.

   Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

8. Men and women should share equally the responsibilities for making a living, running the home, and bringing up children.

   Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

9. Every women has the inalienable right to decide whether or not she should conceive children.

   Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

10. Only the woman has the right to decide whether or not she should have an abortion.

    Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

11. Advertisers should not use women as sex symbols in order to sell their products.

    Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

12. One of the most important issues today is to completely change the traditional roles of men and women.

    Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

13. Other than obvious sexual characteristics, there are no differences between men and women except those imposed by society.

    Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

14. Women can obtain sexual satisfaction with other women as well as with men.

    Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

## Perspectives on Sexism and Masculinity

Please respond with as much information as you can to the following questions, in outline form if you wish (use separate sheets if necessary).

1. Does sexism exist in our society? If so, how do you account for its existence and continuance?

2. a) What, if any, privileges or benefits do you enjoy as a result of sexism and traditional male/female roles?

   b) What, if any, are the costs, liabilities, or disadvantages to you of sexism and traditional male/female roles?

3. How, if at all, do you affect the continuance of sexism?

4. In your own life, how do you account for the a) original development, b) continuance, and c) any change in your beliefs, feelings, and behavior regarding sexism?

5. If you believe sexism is a problem in our society, how could you/people go about countering it?

6. If you believe sexism is a problem in our society, what, if anything, have you done during the past six months to go about countering it?

## Criteria for Assessing the Level of Critical Awareness of Sexism on Questionnaire

### Explanation

The response to each question should be assigned from "0" to "3" points, according to the following criteria:

-- a response indicating "no awareness" should be assigned "0" points

-- if a majority of a person's statements made in regard to a question fall into category 1 or 3, it should be assigned those points respectively.

-- if the responses include a mixture of statements characteristic of levels 1 or 3, it should be assigned "2" points.

| Level 1 | Level 3 |
|---|---|
| 1) Critical Awareness of How Our Society Fosters Sexism (Questions: Does sexism exist in our society? If so, how do you account for its existence and continuance?) | |
| -- short responses | -- longer responses |
| -- personal types of responses (e.g., not enough people try hard enough) | -- institutional types of responses (e.g., looking at political, economic, and social systems) |
| -- disjointed, fragmented answer | -- a holistic, organized picture |
| -- little discussion of power | -- issues of power discussed |
| 2) Increased Awareness of How the Individual is Affected by Sexism (Questions: (a) What, if any, privileges or benefits do you enjoy as a result of sexism and traditional male/female roles?) | |
| -- few | -- many |
| -- personally | -- institutional and personal |
| (Questions: (b) What, if any, are the costs, liabilities, or disadvantages to you of sexism and traditional male/female roles?) | |
| -- few | -- many |

(cont'd.)

-- see few personal limitations
-- guilt
-- anger at being used to support system
-- see personal limits on self

3) Increased Awareness of How the Individual is a Perpetrator of Sexism
(Question: How, if at all, do you affect the continuance of sexism?)

-- few ways
-- personally
-- many ways
-- institutionally and personally

4) Increased Awareness of How Our Political, Economic, and Social System Has Affected Our Beliefs and Behaviors Regarding Sexism
(Question: In your own life, how do you account for the original development, continuance, and any change in your beliefs, feelings, and behavior regarding sexism?)

-- focus on individual circumstances (e.g., parents, friends, situation)
-- change through individual choice
-- focus on societal conditioning (e.g., effect of political, economic, and social system)
-- no true alternatives
-- change from broader perspective and actions

5) Increased Awareness of Alternatives for Dealing with Sexism
(Question: If you believe sexism is a problem in our society, how could you/people go about countering it?)

-- few ways
-- personal actions
-- many choices
-- need for institutional change
-- need for both personal and social change

6) Increased Action in Dealing with Sexism
(Question: If you believe sexism is a problem in our society, what, if anything, have you done during the past six months to go about countering it?)

| Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 |
|---|---|---|
| -- personal actions (e.g., educating self and changing own interpersonal behavior | -- Level 1 action + -- confronting others individually & in small groups -- trying to change friends, family acquaintances | -- Levels 1 & 2 actions + -- pro-actively creating efforts/groups to interrupt sexism |

| Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | | -- joining/creating direct political action groups<br>-- taking steps to combat institutional sexism<br>-- creating/teaching courses, workshops, etc., on the issue |

## PERSPECTIVES ON SEXISM AND MASCULINITY
## Item-by-Item Distribution of Scores

| Item # | Pre-test | Mean | Post-test | Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) | 31.2 | 1.9 | 32.8 | 2.0 |
| 2) | 24.8 | 1.5 | 32.2 | 2.0 |
| 3) | 22.8 | 1.4 | 30.7 | 1.9 |
| 4) | 27.6 | 1.7 | 34.4 | 2.1 |
| 5) | 28.6 | 1.8 | 30.3 | 1.9 |
| 6) | 27.1 | 1.7 | 30.1 | 1.9 |

## Development of Androgyny as Recorded in Written Materials

-- "I am more comfortable in a lot of situations being less competitive with other men."

-- "I am trying to be less competitive and less judgmental in my masculine expression."

-- "I have been more open and vulnerable in different situations, such as in telling someone I love them."

-- "The most important change that I recognize in myself is the recognition that I need not always appear to have the answer, to be educated, sagacious, and whatever other adjective applies to that charade. I found that in listening to the other men in our group, I learned how to listen to the other men. In listening to others, I discover relief from the burden of having to have the answer, and more curiously, that others had something to say."

-- "I gained an appreciation for my emotionality and willingness to express that part of my personality in a group of men. I am proud of my sensitivity toward others and the ways in which I attempt to nurture other men in their struggle to let out their compassionate selves."

-- "I feel I've become more open about expressing emotional and physical affection with male friends."

-- "Men touching men, sharing intimacies, and giving a damn about what one another has to say, no matter how trivial. These are all accepted as a normal part of female-female relationships. And I never thought about whether or not they should be part of the male-male relationship, until now. Well, they should . . ."

-- "I just want to be careful that we don't start throwing away role behaviors just because they're male. There is nothing inherently wrong with toughness, for example, if it is used in sensitive complement to tenderness. Confidence, courage, self-reliance, endurance, seriousness, and even detachment are virtues of the highest order. All of these are actually human role behaviors which men have traditionally owned and become. Rather than focus on the purging of these, maybe we'll do better by unlocking their complements."

-- "I've learned that I'm a warm, loving, and special person."

-- "The most important thing this course has done for me is given me self-confidence and made it possible for me to act on feelings more."

-- "One change I've made is that I've tried being more open, sensitive, and affectionate. The response is good so far."

-- "As my fear of men decreases, I find that I'm able to be more confrontive and talk to them about how I feel."

-- "I found the course to be helpful in getting me to express myself better and to open myself up more in some ways I really hadn't very much before."

-- "I feel my communication because of the class improved immensely. I am hyper-aware of how I communicate with both men and women."

-- "My relationships and general interactions with men have undergone a metamorphosis in this past semester. I feel that I'm now learning to love men. And I'm not completely sure what that means. I do realize to love men is to love oneself (being a man) and to share oneself."

-- "I have let go of a lot of defense mechanisms that keep men from being able to see who I really am. And I have been very sensitive to the needs of other men and women, being conscious to not be oppressive. I have been making a large effort to let people get to know me; which has been a very scary experience at times.

My personal life has taken a drastic change in the way I'm perceived by others. I have always been known by my politically dogmatic, argumentative ways . . . but my personal interactions with people are involving less arguments, and more time listening. I'm becoming very curious about what other people are thinking, and especially why."

## Development of Autonomy as Recorded in Written Materials

-- "As a result of this class, I have been able to evaluate myself as a man. I know that since society has programmed me from an early age, it doesn't necessarily mean that I will act like that . . . because our class has shown me that I can redirect my socialization as a man."

-- "I like being able to say I'm my own man and not programmed like most."

-- "I am happy to say that I'm committed to a life of questioning."

-- "Previously, I never questioned my male-male relationships--I now do as to what's uniquely male about them."

-- "I do have what some would refer to as feminine qualities. All my life, I have felt that since I had these qualities, something must be wrong with me. Yet, after spending time in this course, I'm beginning to think: What's wrong with the people who criticize these qualities?"

-- "I want to become the best human being I can be--not the best man (as viewed by our society) because if being cold, macho, and tough is what it takes to be a man, then I don't want it."

-- "I don't feel as programmed as before, so a lot of anxiety about my masculinity has been relieved."

-- "Most importantly, I have learned that to be myself is the real way to a fulfilling life. I cannot live for other people. I really must be true to who I am . . . I would think that freedom is the best word to sum up my feelings; freedom to discover who I am and what I want to do with my life."

-- "I often feel inferior to the 'stereotyped' man. Yet, through this class, I have learned that I'm o.k. and it is no big deal that I am not what a 'man' is supposed to be in our society."

-- "I believe now there is no <u>one</u> way to be a male or masculine. If I feel the societal definition is harmful or uncomfortable, then I don't have to follow it."

-- "I am much more cognizant of messages from society about what is manly and what is not. This makes it easier to understand some of my own behaviors and be wary, while watching my men friends with a better comprehension of their own situation. It brings on some needed compassion and has helped me to see my father as a product of his time, with a rigid set of behavioral models and codes. I find myself less judgmental."

-- "I started thinking within the past year that, by exercising, I was selling out to the traditional macho mindset. So I was not exercising to fight the "macho" image. I suddenly realized that this is stupid: If I want to exercise for my own self-esteem and health, then I should go ahead and do it."

-- "Simply being yourself and expressing inner beliefs/values in a personal way is masculinity (if one is male)."

-- "Masculinity cannot be defined as such-and-such traits (like 'butch'); rather, it is as encompassing and diverse as men, themselves, are. My masculinity is different than that of every other man because it is my expression of myself being male. There is too much stereotyping."

-- "Being who you are is important, and who cares if you're different in any way? Being a man for me is being myself and not trying to fit into a mold of some kind. Although sometimes it's hard to be yourself, more and more I'm doing it."

-- "The other day, I wore weird clothes . . . I didn't care what people thought at all. I was me, and I felt good being me . . . I don't have the time or need to think about what people think of me."

-- "I've learned a lot from the struggling men in this class. I've learned it's o.k. to define myself within a context of my own values and ideals, not society's. I've learned I can be strong by myself, but that there is a great deal of strength to be shared with other changing men."

-- "If I do things that are 'typically women's things,' I have learned that there is really nothing that is feminine; it's just that society labels things as either feminine or masculine . . . I have found that my being gay does not make me any less of a man than being a 250-pound football player would."

## Development of Self-Acceptance and Acceptance of Others, as Recorded in Written Materials

-- "I feel I am becoming more accepting of people who are different than myself."

-- "I find myself less judgmental."

-- "Some of the best changes I've gone through in relation to other men in the class are a more general acceptance. For instance, in the beginning, I didn't have much patience for people like X, and now I see the importance of being patient and supportive and, hopefully, influential with people such as X."

-- "Now that I have found other men who value emotionality, close physical contact, expressiveness, and intimacy as primary in their relationships, it is easier for me to accept other, different values in men. Being able to share in the ways I find most meaningful allows me to be more generous towards other men in their value choices . . . so I am not so threatened by men who seem to have chosen more traditional ways of being male."

-- "I found that this course was more privately vital to my happiness than any other course I've ever taken. It came at a critical time and provided me with experiences and feelings, and notions of support and validation from other 'progressing' men. I have been much happier, more spontaneous, and felt more alive since I've had the chance to think positively about being a man . . . instead of being in a void, I have found alliance; rather than feel isolation, I now sense strength and emotional support; where I had previously seen hateful, dangerous faces, I can now see open and peaceful smiles."

-- "The readings and discussions helped me to let go of my resentments and frustrations and accept other gays for what they are, and not what they should be. As a result of the class, I'm more accepting of myself."

-- "In looking back at the class so far, I think that the most important thing I've gotten from it so far is validation. It's hard being different under any circumstance; even more difficult if, as a man, you choose to give up your position of power in society for a new, unclearly defined role."

Women's Liberation Scale: Total Responses and Mean Responses to Each Item; Pre- and Post-test

| Item | Total | | | Mean | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pre- | Post- | Diff. | Pre- | Post- |
| 1) In general, the activities of women's liberation groups will have a very good influence on our society. | 79.0 | 82.0 | +3.0 | 3.6 | 3.7 |
| 2) Women should be given the same consideration as men when both are applying for the same job. | 85.0 | 85.0 | 0 | 3.9 | 3.9 |
| 3) Women, whether married or single, should receive the same salary as men for doing the same job. | 82.0 | 86.0 | +4.0 | 3.7 | 3.9 |
| 4) Women should have the same educational opportunities as men in all fields of study. | 88.0 | 88.0 | 0 | 4.0 | 4.0 |
| 5) All occupations should be equally accessible to men and women. | 79.0 | 84.0 | +5.0 | 3.6 | 3.8 |
| 6) There should be free child-care centers to help mothers who have to work. | 72.0 | 80.0 | +8.0 | 3.3 | 3.6 |
| 7) There should be free child-care centers to help mothers who don't have to work but would like to get a job. | 76.5 | 76.0 | - .5 | 3.5 | 3.5 |
| 8) Men and women should share equally the responsibilities for making a living, running the home, and bringing up children. | 86.0 | 85.0 | -1.0 | 3.9 | 3.9 |
| 9) Every woman has the inalienable right to decide whether or not she should conceive children. | 86.0 | 84.0 | -2.0 | 3.9 | 3.8 |

| Item | Total Pre- | Total Post- | Diff. | Mean Pre- | Mean Post- |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10) Only the woman has the right to decide whether or not she should have an abortion. | 69.5 | 74.5 | +5.0 | 3.2 | 3.4 |
| 11) Advertisers should not use women as sex symbols in order to sell their product. | 74.5 | 82.0 | +7.5 | 3.4 | 3.7 |
| 12) One of the most important issues today is to completely change the traditional roles of men and women. | 67.0 | 74.0 | +7.0 | 3.0 | 3.4 |
| 13) Other than obvious sexual characteristics, there are no differences between men and women except those imposed by society. | 62.5 | 68.0 | +5.5 | 2.8 | 3.1 |
| 14) Women can obtain sexual satisfaction with other women as well as with men. | 84.0 | 85.0 | +1.0 | 3.8 | 3.9 |
| Totals: | 1080 | 1134.5 | 42.5 | | |
| Mean: | 77.9 | 81.0 | 3.3 | 3.55 | 3.7 |

## Development of Awareness as Recorded in Written Materials

On Women's Oppression and Man-Woman Relationships:

-- "I am making a continuous effort to view women more equally than before."

-- "More and more I see the gifts or privileges I have as a man."

-- "Looking back on my relationship with X, I see that a major problem between us was the issue of dominance and subordinance."

-- "Where rape is concerned, I can view it as an act of violence against a woman. And the attitudes that 'What was she wearing? She must have asked for it' are slowly fading away."

-- "I feel I have a better understanding now of how rape is somewhat encouraged in our patriarchal society through the use of the media and the traditional male role of dominance, sexual virility, and machismo. Rape is a way of intimidating women and keeping them in their place."

-- "I think it is a justifiable concern that men could either consciously or unconsciously use their 'liberation' as a new way of bonding and consolidating power. There will have to be a certain amount of men giving up power to women--how much needs to be given up, and will it happen voluntarily?"

-- "While we can claim to be so hip and groovy, I think it is still obvious how much we oppress women, especially the women we have relationships with."

-- "I am starting to become aware of how my objectification of women perpetuates a feeling of inadequacy with the women I was involved with. I am much more aware of the ways in which I take the relationship for granted and, by being detached, I can be powerful and unemotional and 'non-hurtable.'"

-- "With respect to attitude and behavior, I find myself seeing a bit more of what men have done (and continue to do) to women in our society."

-- "If men can't relate to men in certain ways, and to women in certain others, how do they receive and give that love which is so necessary to be fully human? The answer is, in my opinion, most men don't become fully human. They live their lives afraid of other men and constantly competing with other men for life's 'riches.' Part of these riches in heterosexist/sexist culture are women. Yet, men live their lives, as a result, treating women in a degrading manner, hating women for possessing the characteristics of sensitivity and human compassion that they don't have. In this way, homophobia and sexism feed each other."

On Male-Male Relationships, Sexism, and Homophobia:

-- "Men are so caught up in the game of trying to prove their manhood to each other that they can't relate in a realistic way."

-- "Another very exciting and scary learning was how intimately intertwined was the hesitancy to be physically affectionate with other men and a deeply embedded drawing-back from homosexual feelings within me."

-- "I feel the class has opened up doors for me. If I could change one thing, it's how men are oppressive to other men."

On General Awareness of Gender Socialization:

-- "One thing I've been learning about myself as a man is just how much of a 'man' I really am."

-- "I'm beginning to see a new insight into the depths of gender conditioning. The more you question and process, the more there is to question and process."

-- "I can envision the teachings of this course coming to mind for years on end, as I see its implications day after day. The course was process. It was people; not books. I saw other men and women reveal themselves. I also saw myself in a new light. I looked to my actions and thought: 'You hotbed of masculinity; look, look at yourself!' And so I did."

-- "By recognizing and questioning our present values and ways, we can at least look for alternatives. We can't go on killing ourselves for some false, worn-out perception of manhood. In seeking alternatives, hopefully we will build on alternative ideals or 'emerging

masculinities' . . . our lives could be sexual and masculine on the basis of experience, rather than tradition."

-- "I have really begun to question what it means to say I am 'heterosexual,' and what implications go along with that. I don't think sexuality is such a clear-cut thing anymore. And I surely don't think my sexuality is clear-cut at all."

On Sexism, Other Forms of Oppression, and the Need for Social Change:

-- "This quote suggests that a very important way to stop the arms race is to work for a non-patriarchal society in which power, and especially the power to kill, is not equated with masculinity."

-- "But, for me, developing new, more healthful ways of expressing masculinity is not only personally important --it is also socially important (i.e., sexism, homophobia, rape, the arms race). So, I have decided to challenge these norms on both personal and societal levels."

-- "If I am to successfully accomplish my goal, I need help from society. I must not be discriminated against, abused, or harassed for having close personal and open contact with men. I must not be bombarded with advertising and movies and literature which is demeaning to women, for then I cannot feel fully human if my sisters are portrayed as sub-human penile repositories. These societal changes must occur if we are all to be fully human, and to effect these changes, we must enact both political and educational measures against homophobia and sexism and for personhood. To do this in a capitalist society which contains a patriarchal, hierarchical system within its fabric is impossible. That's why we must encourage the patriarchal system to disappear. A revolution might be in order."

-- "Just understanding that I am sexual makes me political . . . in other words, just the process of understanding and undoing my sexual repression has made me understand the political apparatus which is set up to keep me ignorant, scared, and confused."

-- "Men coming together to explore our masculinity and our maleness constitutes a powerful force for social change. Questioning the most fundamental parts of our identity

can allow us to question other ways we've been told that we should be."

-- "I don't view sexism, racism, heterosexism, homophobia, and classism as things outside of me to be worked on for bettering society. I'm beginning to see how much racism, sexism et al. have fucked me up. And that going out to fight these 'isms' will be trying to make a better place for myself as well as others. I am a product of internalizing all of these oppressions; although I may not be oppressed by them, their oppressive power still affects me."

## Development of Activism as Recorded in Written Materials

-- "In my relations with other men, I am beginning to feel more confident about confronting their sexism."

-- "I want to raise my own children as 'androgynous' as I can, in comparison to my life."

-- "Before the course, I didn't see the importance for me to be in a men's group, but now I see how much I need a place like a men's group to share and learn and grow."

-- "Writing these words from rural Wyoming can give one a different perspective. This part of the country is certainly a bastion of traditional male roles, and I feel challenged to carry my vision onward with conviction. But knowing that some other men share intimacy and love openly with each other and that I now hold that inside my own spirit as a reality makes it easier. It's the stuff dreams are made of and lets me burn a candle inside for the vision to continue."

-- "It would be helpful if men's studies courses became more widespread . . . and men's studies literature were more widely distributed and read. In the same way that women's studies courses and programs brought terrific support and energy to the feminist movement . . . I feel that the same power and direction could be brought to men's issues and development."

-- "What does it mean to be a man against sexism, and racism, and all other forms of oppression?"

-- "This all does bring up definite challenges with my parents, with whom I'd love to talk about all these things, and, hopefully, will be able to over the holidays."

-- "I see myself as being more and more an educator. I want to show men the alternatives to traditional masculinity, not condemn them for being traditionally male."

-- "The personal has become political; the political has become personal. Everything I do has meaning, in that it fits into a larger sphere--it either leads me and the world toward a saner, more humane place or it leads me away from sanity."

-- "I spoke! I spoke! I talked to a few hundred gay and straight (and bi) men who were listening to me! Evaluating me. Hearing my every line, my every political incorrectness. Now I must examine my leader phobia and connect with men for support."

-- "I wasn't aware of my learning to be sexist, but I am acutely aware of my unlearning of it. I have been taken from a state of innocence, and now I want to return to a state where I can act out of 'pure' being.

I am actively working to rid myself of behaviors and even thoughts which inhibit my relating to persons with dignity and authenticity."

-- "My actions in the world are becoming more effective, more exciting, and more purposeful. It is fascinating for me to watch myself find a way to put my beliefs into political action."

-- "But I've now begun to do anti-sexist work within this political-action group with the men in it. And I've spoken to the men who were being dominating and will continue to work with them. I'm also part of a men's political collective now. It is the one that formed out of the Hampshire Men's Conference."

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